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REGIONAL

Egypt Rejects Syrian Intercession for War Prisoners

45000098 London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic
25 Jan 89 p 8

[Text] AL-MAJALLAH has learned that Egypt rejected a Syrian offer via Arab intermediaries regarding intercession with the Tehran government to free the Egyptian prisoners in Iran in exchange for Egypt's not recognizing or making contacts with the military government in Lebanon headed by Major General Michel 'Awn.

Maj Gen 'Awn had sent a letter to Egyptian President Husni Mubarak seeking legal recognition of his government and affirming Lebanon's Arab affiliation and its commitment to all Arab positions—at the head of these, recognition of the new Palestinian state. He also expressed his determination to open a PLO office in East Beirut and allow it diplomatic representation.

In addition, Cairo had previously rejected mediation by People's Assembly Member Shaykh Yusuf al-Badri after his return from Tehran some time ago. The Tehran government had assented to his efforts between the Egyptian and Iranian Governments to free the prisoners.

Studies Begin for Quadrilateral Economic Group

JN2901175489 Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic
28 Jan 89 p 1

[Text] An AL-AHRAM correspondent has learned that the economic cooperation grouping among Egypt, Jordan, Iraq and the YAR—of which President Mubarak said consultations to set it up are under way—will achieve a free flow of capital and labor and change the bilateral agreements and equal deals and joint committee projects into four-way pacts. The economic coming together will at the same time make possible the maximization of Arab resources and potential. Further, coordination among the constituent member states of the grouping should give them better terms in negotiating commercial deals with world economic bodies and major powers. The arrangement will promote the launching of joint ventures and work out checks to obviate competition between capital industries.

Hamdi al-Tabba', Jordan's industry and trade minister, in Cairo for meetings of the joint Egyptian-Jordanian joint committee, says the grouping is not an economic bloc as such, but the nucleus of coordinated Arab action in the economic spheres geared to economic integration among the Arab states.

The idea of the grouping, adds Al-Tabba', originated in meetings between President Mubarak and His Majesty King Husayn and later found favor with Iraq's President Saddam Husayn and the YAR's 'Ali 'Abdallah Salih.

Expert committees are examining the production capacity and surplus in the industrial and economic sectors in the four countries. Products and markets of the four countries, said the Jordanian minister, are to receive preferential treatment. The grouping will draw upon the experiences of the EC and the GCC as well as the experiment of the Arab common market, added Al-Tabba'.

The AL-AHRAM correspondent has further learned that detailed studies are being undertaken to work out a framework of economic ties taking account of the free trade zone between the United States and Canada and the target date of 1992 for integrating the economies of the 12 member nations of the EC. The studies also take into consideration the East European CEMA bloc, and the GCC—groupings that have become a feature of international economic relations.

Industrialization in Arab World Evaluated

45040110 Beirut AL-MUSTAQBAL AL-'ARABI
in Arabic Nov 88 pp 123-143

[Article by Dr 'Abdallah Hamad al-Ma'jal, secretary general of the Gulf Organization for Industrial Consultations in Qatar: "Prospects for the Arab Economy: Industry in the Arab Homeland: Achievements and Challenges"]

[Excerpts] Insofar as industrialization can bring about technological change and the ensuing changes in relations and values of production, it is presumed to be the way by means of which comprehensive economic and social growth can be introduced into developing countries. It is also the means by which resources can be mobilized and additional value realized from them. There is no doubt that the degree of industrial backwardness in any human community is steadily proportionate to the extent to which that community's natural, human, and financial resources are idle and not being put to the best possible use.

Because the industrial sector is largely involved with and connected to other sectors of the economy, the process of industrialization stimulates various sectors of the economy and generally leads to diversification and stimulation of the economy.

Industry plays an important role in the process of accumulating capital, and capital is required for sustaining and expediting economic development. Industry creates opportunities for productive work, and it reinforces the relationship between reward and productivity. Reinforcing the relationship between national revenue and actual production, which relies on one's own means, must have an effect on institutions and individuals in a community.

If the industrialization process is properly conducted, and if it manages to create an integrated industrial establishment, it can have a positive and significant effect on the balance of trade.

On the other hand, industry plays an important role in reinforcing integration among countries. This is done through specialization and joint industrial projects.

It is worth noting that the industrialization process is intended to bring about historical change. It is intended to change a community into an industrial one that can establish, maintain, and develop the national industrial product by linking continued industrial growth with the best use of resources and with the interests of the citizenry's principal sectors. This means that industrial establishments must be in touch with a community's economic and social reality, and they must be historically linked to the process of comprehensive growth for society.

In its definition of industrialization the United Nations Industrial Development Organization [UNIDO] points to this comprehensive meaning of the term. UNIDO defines industrialization as "a development activity by means of which a growing portion of a country's national resources is mobilized to set up a local economic system which is technically diverse and advanced. The mainstay of that system would be a changing, dynamic sector which owns the means of production and produces both capital and consumer goods. In general, that system would have the ability to ensure high rates of economic growth overall as well as high rates of economic and social progress." ¹ A set of standards can be determined on the basis of this definition to determine the degree of success industrial programs can have in bringing about industrial growth in the comprehensive sense. Among these standards, for example, are:

- The degree to which resources and the available ingredients for success are being utilized in the best way.
- The ratio of actual industrial production to design capacity.
- The extent to which there is balance between capital, intermediate, and consumer industries and the degree of linkage between them.
- Industry's ability to create employment opportunities for citizens.

In general, the success of industrial development programs is determined by industry's ability to become self-reliant. This means that industry make the best use of resources, meet local consumer needs, and reinforce the independence of the national economy.

As far as the Arab homeland is concerned, one of the most important standards for the success of the industrialization experiment, besides the general standards stemming from UNIDO's definition of the term, is the

extent to which industrialization contributes to reinforcing integration among the Arab countries. Such integration, which is demanded by all Arabs, can be reinforced by increasing trade of industrial products among the Arab countries. Another standard for success is the ability of the industrialization process to create appropriate conditions for integration by pursuing geographically balanced growth and increasing linkages between economic interests.

In this paper we will try to evaluate the Arab homeland's experience with industrialization. We will start by reviewing how much has been accomplished in industrial production. We will then use available statistics and data to analyze the industrial situation and industrialization strategies, taking into account the standards we mentioned for the success of industrial programs. Other standards for success will also be taken into account. We will then review impediments to industrial development as well as indicators of industrial backwardness in the Arab homeland. We will conclude the paper by suggesting what can be done to strengthen the industrial experience in the Arab homeland so that its progress can become compatible with aspirations for development and integration.

[Passage omitted]

The previous review makes it clear that Arab industry has not been able to keep pace with the aspirations and hopes for comprehensive economic and social growth which had been placed on it. Before talking about indicators of industrial backwardness and impediments to industrial development, let us emphasize two basic facts:

The first fact is that one cannot have a discussion about industrial development without making reference to the economic and social situation. This means that shortcomings in that situation must, therefore, have an effect on the situation with industry. Impediments to development in the comprehensive sense of the term and contradictions in that development will definitely be passed on to industrial development.

The second fact is that Arab countries, despite what we mentioned previously, do not represent a single economic entity. They are rather a group of incongruous countries and entities with links to outside economies and forces. So far, they do not have the minimum channels of communication and trade which can constitute a foundation from which movement toward economic integration can be launched. ¹³ And yet, persistent attempts to set up economic cooperation and integration systems between those countries, regardless of how successful they've been, stem from the national conviction that this integration is important. These attempts are associated with aspirations for national unity. In other words, the conscious tendency to move toward economic integration takes into account the benefits which can come to the Arab homeland when the

factors of production become integrated, when the domestic market is expanded, and when the ability to negotiate is strengthened. Accordingly, the success of any economic program, such as industrialization, must be measured on the basis of resources which are available throughout the Arab homeland.

Despite the theoretical conviction that this integration is important and despite persistent efforts to achieve it, the working facts affirm that Arab countries are quickly becoming self-centered as each country reinforces the people's sense of national affiliation with it. Thus, the tendency for pan-Arab unity is becoming an obstacle to economic integration among the Arab countries. That economic integration, which was a mere slogan to which no one had made a real commitment, has become the practical approach to pan-Arab unity. Accordingly, this economic integration represents a threat to the independence of each country's will. Even the few programs which met with some success have started recently confronting a situation in which they are being dropped to the bottom of a country's list of priorities, as we mentioned. In most cases any enthusiasm for these programs depends on the benefits they offer the country rather than on the integration benefits they provide. That is why the major discrepancies in growth and income levels between the Arab countries helped these countries give up realistic cooperation programs and made it impossible for them to achieve harmony between integration programs and the interests of each country.

On the level of each country most Arab countries have various degrees of shortcomings and flaws in their regimes and their administrative and political systems. In those countries there is very little popular participation in the decisionmaking process, and there are no mechanisms and no historic frame of reference which can be used to create the complete effect of development which economic establishments and programs would have. Consequently, doing business on the international scene with advanced countries or international firms, which are more organized entities, must end up serving the latter's interests and meeting their terms. Also, the lack of cohesion in public management in most Arab countries as well as management's shortsightedness led to management's loss of touch with reality and with the public's interests. Management was interested in spending money on useless programs which could counter the movement toward growth and could support subordination. Examples of such programs are the weapons programs which are carried out to reinforce each country's isolation. Public management's inadequacy is also manifested in the absence of coordination means and methods between the different programs and institutions and between the stages at which the decision for development is made and those at which it is adopted and implemented.

Reliance on government spending to provide employment opportunities and become the moving force behind economic activity led to a decline in per capita and institutional productivity. Given the separation between

national revenues and community productivity in the oil countries, especially those which rely on a free market system, reliance on government spending was reflected in the separation between per capita income and productivity, in the separation between an institution's income and its productivity, in the poor distribution of income, and in hidden unemployment which became entrenched. In recent years this economic decline blurred the vision further, increased fluctuations in policies and caused a continuous change in priorities.

The major economic changes which accompanied the oil boom period had a direct effect on the oil countries and an indirect effect on most of the other Arab countries. These changes created a split between production and the social reality. The heritage of production was eliminated and replaced by imported equipment and means of production, and these were not allowed to take root in the countries' historical reality. Thus, it became difficult to establish a homegrown technological foundation. As a result of the rapid change tribal values were retained within an alien situation for production, and that led to those values becoming poor management practices.

That situation was reflected on industrial development programs, reducing their ability to bring about comprehensive growth. In most cases these industrial development programs remained a geographical phenomenon which manifested itself in isolated areas that were not connected to the movement for social change.

Arab industry, which in most cases was built on optimistic assumptions stemming from tremendous aspirations, is now facing numerous obstacles which led to its falling behind significantly from what had been hoped for it. The most important indicators of this falling behind may be summarized in the following:

- The local technological base is weak, and continued industrial production and development depend on outside technical support.
- The foundation for capital industries is weak. That has a negative effect on the balance of trade because importing equipment and the capital products which are necessary for industry is costly.
- There is interest in manufacturing consumer products which rely on creating new consumer habits rather than an interest in meeting the real needs of consumers.
- The cost of building factories is high, and there is a major discrepancy in these costs between one region and another, even though the terms and specifications are the same.
- In some industries there are very large production capabilities which lie idle despite the fact that if these industries were operated at full capacity, the local or pan-Arab market could absorb what they produced.
- Worker's productivity is low, and there is hidden unemployment in industry.
- Financing for industry is low in Arab countries, compared with the remaining countries of the world.¹⁴

- The industrial establishment is shaky and internal ties in it are weak. Ties between industry and other sectors are also weak.¹⁵
- Coordination between industry and education and training programs is weak, and industry is unable to create the employment opportunities it was expected to create.
- There are many opportunities for investing in industry which are not utilized.
- Arab countries rely on importing many essential and strategic goods.

The backwardness of Arab industry is basically the result of the backward political and social situation in those countries. It is the result of a divorce between general management and the public's interests. It is also the result of a limited methodology—if not the lack of one—for a complete decisionmaking process which is tied to national interests. The backwardness of Arab industry is the result of flaws in the makeup of the class which can bring about industrial development and tie it to comprehensive growth. Confronting the characteristic obstacles to development whose roots run deep into the political and social situation requires a qualitative and a radical change in this situation in such a way as to develop a national will which can deal with industry in a comprehensive manner. Among the most important of these obstacles are the following:

- General management's view is limited, and there are no realistic plans which are comprehensive, practical, implementable and can serve as a springboard for industrialization programs. In most cases there is a reliance on indecisive and inconstant policies and strategies which are always changing.¹⁶
- Exposure, subordination and the association between industrialization programs and the interests of industrial societies and their international corporations.¹⁷
- Each country tends to focus on itself. Countries do not pursue industrial cooperation programs and institutions in earnest, and they abandon agreed upon commitments made to these programs.
- The markets of these countries are limited, and trade between the Arab countries is weak. The large size of the Arab market is not being utilized.
- Income distribution in any one country is poor, and there are discrepancies in standards of living and growth between the different Arab countries.
- Private sector initiatives are limited, and the private sector's interests are directly linked with those of international companies.
- Industrial development is dealt with commercially, and commercial profitability is the only standard which is relied upon to determine a project's usefulness.

Changing the industrial situation requires a fundamental shift in approach and a comprehensive review of prevailing notions about industrial development.

The real political and social will are not yet available for most of the requirements for this development. It is not because of the limitations of this study that we will just

mention these requirements here and refrain from stating how they might be achieved, but it is also because existing frameworks have limitations. Accordingly, any methodology used to implement the requirements for development would require dealing with the historical situation in its entirety. [The following] are among these requirements:

- An integrated strategy for industry, including programs and plans and stemming from a comprehensive Arab strategy for development and integration, is to be formulated. The institutions which are necessary for implementing this strategy are to be established and developed, and systems for coordinating their activities are to be established.
- Means of transportation and communication are to be developed, and conscious steps are to be taken to achieve an Arab common market, starting with creating a customs union. An effort is to be made to advance specialization among the various countries and regions based on the nature of available resources. Conscious steps are to be taken to develop the more backward areas for the purpose of creating geographically balanced growth.
- The material, legal and administrative infrastructures are to be developed. Corruption, administrative negligence and encroachment by the political power on management at the institutions of production are to be confronted head on.
- An effort is to be made to provide a better definition of the role of the private and public sectors so as to turn the private sector from a group of people looking for a quick profit to an organized class of people who are pioneers in development. At the same time the role of the state is to be fixed, and the method of government spending should lend itself to internal change so that it can be steered in a way that would allow it to have a positive and dynamic effect on the course of development.
- A democratic climate that supports social and individual freedom is to be developed. Such a climate can provide the incentive for creativity and inventiveness which could forge a union between modern technology and the values which are consistent with society's cultural heritage.

Developing the political and social will which can meet these requirements and then adopt and implement a comprehensive approach to development cannot be the product of an isolated historical process. It will rather come about by means of a dialectic approach which is connected to changes that are occurring in various economic and cultural sectors. To enable the industrial sector to play a positive role in bringing about this historic shift, different institutions have to adopt a conscious administrative approach. Developing such an approach requires answering a group of questions such as:

1. To what extent are present industrial programs and projects consistent with the declared goals of one country or of the entire Arab nation?

2. What are the standards which can be used to measure the effect that one project in one country or one joint project or program will have on development?

3. What are the variables which can be controlled throughout the entire Arab nation or in each country? What are the variables that are subject to outside forces? Based on that fact, is it possible to set up, adopt, and implement a specific strategy for industrial development?

4. To what extent is there social and economic homogeneity in the Arab homeland or in a single Arab country, and to what extent can it be used to achieve an acceptable level of compatibility and integration with the rest of international communities?

A complete review of prevailing notions and policies is required to answer these questions and start confronting the obstacles to industrial development. The aim of such a review is to come up with appropriate definitions which can constitute a starting point for developing an approach which is consistent with national and pan-Arab goals and aspirations for development. The following are among the most important of these notions.¹⁸

A. The notion of economic feasibility for projects is to be reviewed so that it can be consistent with the objectives of industrial development instead of being solely defined by commercial profitability. The necessary standards for measuring a project's feasibility for development are to be developed.

B. Incentives and encouragement policies are to be used to support technological development and not just to increase industrial production.

C. The notion of a free market is to be reviewed by emphasizing the importance of specifications and measurements. At the same time, policies which support modern industries are to be devised until these industries can stand on their own.

D. The notion of a guided economy should signify more than the state owning the means of production. It should rather signify a comprehensive methodology which can be utilized to mobilize all resources and achieve the maximum benefit from them.

E. Education and training are to become consistent with serving the objectives of economic and social development, and they are to guide such development.

F. The notion of public and private management is to be reviewed, and the importance of supporting production efficiency is to be emphasized. Sensitivity to costs, values, and means is to be emphasized for the purpose of realizing the maximum benefit from available resources.

G. The notion of the private sector's role is to be revised so that it would mean total involvement in the process of industrial development. The private sector's role should not be limited to investing in feasible projects or projects which are guaranteed by the state.

The knowledgeable approach to creating the objective conditions which would make movement toward the achievement of industrial development in the full sense of the term possible and affirm industry's role in bringing about comprehensive economic development requires gradual building upon existing industry. Creating the objective conditions for industrial development requires that competent national, regional, and pan-Arab institutions utilize appropriate management methods which would have a cumulative effect on the structure of Arab industry and bring about industrial development. And that can bring about the required fundamental shift. Among the most important gradual approaches which are required and possible, given the capabilities, contexts and institutions which are available are the following:

- The problems of existing industries throughout the industrial establishment are to be studied, and the truth about idle production capabilities is to be discovered. Technical and marketing solutions to put these capabilities to work are to be proposed.
- An effort to coordinate the activities of existing industries is to be made to reinforce integrated industrial ties between these industries and to strengthen the negotiating position for similar industries when they are purchasing and marketing products.
- Information is to be provided and information systems are to be developed to serve the purposes of industrial consultations and feasibility studies.
- The role of small and intermediate industries is to be strengthened, and the private sector is to be encouraged to make joint investments in these industries. Incentive policies are to be guided to establish such industries which strengthen industrial ties and reinforce the integration of Arab industry.
- The facts about joint Arab industrial projects are to be studied, and methods to achieve the required success for them are to be proposed.
- Appropriate intermediate industrial projects which could tie the basic industries to the local market and meet consumers' needs are to be studied and proposed.
- Projects which could set up ties between the industrial sector and other economic sectors are to be proposed so that the factors of production in the various Arab countries can be integrated and the volume of trade in locally manufactured materials and in industrial raw materials can be increased.
- Projects which could have an effect in the future on providing new investment opportunities in industry or on supporting Arab economic integration are to be emphasized.

- Appropriate incentives policies are to be devised to encourage the establishment of facilities for maintenance, training, consulting, research, and development and of other institutions for comprehensive technological development supporting the process of industrialization.
- The frameworks for dialogue between officials and institutions of the Arab private sector are to be reinforced, and these frameworks are to be developed by the Federation of Arab Chambers of Commerce and Industry and also Arab federations in other sectors.
- Arab and regional institutions for industrial cooperation are to be strengthened. These institutions are to strengthen their positions by setting up direct ties with those who benefit from their services.

The fact that national and joint institutions which are associated with industrialization programs are carrying out these tasks requires also that special attention be given to the administrative development of these institutions. That includes developing monitoring and follow-up methods to ascertain these institutions' competence and [the community's] ability to benefit from their services.

What remains in the end is the important assertion that for industrial development to become a historical process which is economically and socially feasible, it must come about through the dialectic of social growth. Industrial development must come about in a manner that is linked to this growth in the comprehensive sense of the term. Industrial development must grow out of national and pan-Arab facts and stated assumptions. It must take root in society's cultural heritage, and it must derive its ability to survive from the ties between it and the interests of the populace's principal sectors.

Until that happens, the technologically backward reality of the Arab world makes limiting the exposure of that reality to outside variables which could control it absolutely necessary. This exposure is the inevitable result of unequal relations with bodies in the international community which are more organized. Accordingly, steps must be taken in stages to strengthen coordination, and the Arab homeland must maintain a relatively closed door economic policy until this backwardness can be overcome and the ability to assert reasonable control over the course of comprehensive industrial, economic, and social development is strengthened. The important question here is this: Is there at the present time the minimum real national will to achieve this? If the answer to this question is negative, what can be done to formulate and develop this will? But as we can see, an attempt to answer this question will take us far away from the field which is the main focus of this paper.

Footnotes

1. Ghaffar 'Abbas Kazim, "Al-Tatawwur al-Sina'i fi Duwal al-Suq al-'Arabiyyah al-Mushtarakah" [Industrial Development in the Countries of the Arab Common Market] Arab Economic Unity Councils, 1984.

13. The Arab League, General Secretariat and others, Standard Arab Economic Report, 1986.

14. Ibid.

15. Ibid.

16. Halabawi, "Al-Tanmiyah al-Sina'iyah fi al-Watan al-'Arabi; Waqi'uhah wa Tawajuhatihah al-Mustaqbaliyah" [Industrial Development in the Arab Homeland: Reality and Future Directions]

17. Sharif al-Musa, "Mafhum al-Taba'iyah wa Istratijiyyat al-Tasni' al-'Arabiyyah" [The Notion of Subordination and Arab Strategies for Industrialization], AL-MUSTAQBAL AL-'ARABI Year 8, No 79, Sep 85.

18. See 'Abdallah al-Ma'jil, "Industrial Strategies Cooperation in the Arab Gulf Region." This is a paper that was presented at the conference on technical industrial and economic cooperation between the Arab Gulf countries and the Federal Republic of Germany; Wurtzburg, the Federal Republic of Germany: 23-25 Jul-Sep 1987.

Meeting of Jordanian-Syrian Maritime Company Discussed

44000250 Amman JORDAN TIMES in English
18 Dec 88 p 3

[Text] Amman (J.T.)—The board of directors of the Jordanian-Syrian Maritime Company will meet in Damascus Tuesday to discuss its annual report, budget and operations which last year earned the company 34 million Syrian pounds.

In August, the joint company announced a decision to purchase a cargo vessel to be jointly owned with the Arab Union Insurance Company and to take direct charge of the new vessel which will transport goods between the Arab region and north western Europe.

The announcement, made in Amman during a two-day meeting of the company's general assembly, said that the joint company will own 25 percent of the vessel which will have an overall cost of \$2 million.

The company will receive a certain percentage of the profits collected by the ship for transporting goods, but this amount should not be less than one third of the company's annual administrative expenses which is nearly one million Syrian pounds.

The new vessel, which has a net loading capacity of 5,000 tonnes, will be joining the other two vessels, Barada and Yarmouk, owned by the joint company which was established in 1979.

The Jordanian side to the Tuesday meeting in Damascus will be led by the Jordanian Ports Corporation Director General 'Idal-Fayiz.

Sudanese Rebel Leader Returns to Cairo
45000099 London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic
25 Jan 89 p 9

[Text] For the second time in a month, Colonel Yusuf Huwatki, the Southern Sudan Liberation Front chief of staff [presumably means Colonel Yusuf Kuwah of the Sudanese People's Liberation Front] has visited Cairo for 2 days, where he met with a number of Egyptian officials.

Cairo had requested from Huwatki that the fighting in southern Sudan not be renewed and the battles not flare up again. It affirmed that Egypt will continue its efforts with the Government of Sudan in concluding peace efforts and convening a national constitutional conference as soon as possible.

Huwatki offered Cairo the support of the front's leaders in Egypt's efforts and concern for achieving any solutions to the problem. He affirmed the front's distrust of the government of Sudan's Prime Minister al-Sadiq al-Mahdi.

Progress of Regional Human Rights Organizations Reviewed

LTDH Serves as Role Model
45190025 Paris JEUNE AFRIQUE in French
21-28 Dec 88 pp 34-37

[Article by Francois Soudan and Souhayr Belhassen: "Fruitful Year for Human Rights," including interview with LTDH president Mohamed Charfi: "Tunisians Leading the Way," date and place not given]

[Text] "They are the rainmen," the people in Rabat smilingly say. Since 1 October, nearly every time the founders of the Moroccan Human Rights Organization (OMDH) have held a meeting, autumn clouds have sent showers down on Moroccan soil. Should one then superimpose the "geography of freedoms" on the precipitation map? Whatever the case, 1988 will have been a fruitful year in the Maghreb.

The first conference of Maghreb human rights leagues in Nouakchott; a formidable awakening of Algerian awareness; implementation by the new Tunisian administration of certain essential demands of the national league; courageous moves by Moroccan activists, and so on.

On this 40th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (14 December 1948), North Africa appears as a pioneer in the Arab world and (why not say so?) a model for many regions on the continent.

It all started in Tunisia. Undeniably, whether it likes it or not, the Tunisian Human Rights League (LTDH) is a kind of symbol. Formed in 1976 and recognized a year later, the LTDH originally enjoyed a favorable international situation, that of the "Carter years," when America imposed a moral code on its allies, even if it was often more formal than real. But the degeneration of Bourguibism and the repression of all opposition would rapidly turn it into the only counterpower, the only protection against the excesses of the Executive Branch. Headed by Saadedine Zmerli, currently minister of health, the Tunisian League then experienced its share of arrests and searches. Both 1986 and 1987 were terrible years. Its interventions with authorities were daily and it welcomed the dethronement of Bourguiba as a divine surprise.

Since that time, the LTDH has become somewhat institutionalized. For the first time, it corresponds to the political environment within which it evolves, but this kind of symbiosis has its drawbacks. The League, with a permanent Secretariat and modest budget, is now set up in its own headquarters. The inspiration behind many decisions by the government on public freedoms, it must gain a second wind and redefine its *raison d'être*. Such is the task of its new president, Professor Mohamed Charfi, with whom Souhayr Belhassen spoke.

The Algerian leagues (there are three, two of which: those headed by attorneys Abdennour Ali Yahia and Miloud Brahimi, have a real following) are the main beneficiaries of the Tunisian experience. Ali Yahia, one of the rare intellectuals to dare to challenge the regime by refusing exile, was undoubtedly the most virulent in his criticism of the repressive excesses accompanying the October crisis. But the Algerian Human Rights League of Miloud Brahimi has perhaps been the most effective.

Formed in April 1987 with the backing of the government, which brought it under heavy suspicion, the "official" LTDH actually gained much credit by the publication on 16 November of two remarkably precise reports on censorship and torture and its demand for the creation of a national commission of inquiry into the deaths and disappearances of October.

The riots and the way in which they were put down awakened great awareness in Algeria. The use of torture on such a scale for the first time since independence was a major trauma whose consequences have not been fully evaluated. The accounts we are publishing here are significant in that respect. Equally significant is the fact that the official Algerian press dared to break the taboo of silence. Things have indeed changed in Algeria.

They are also changing in Morocco, where 1988 was marked by the Moroccan Human Rights Organization's long fight for recognition. Starting from the conclusion that the two existing associations to defend freedoms, too marked politically, could not be heard, Mehdi Elmandjra, Abdelaziz Bennani, Fatima Mernissi, and a few others decided to found an independent organization. Who could say that Morocco could have done without such a move?

Also hit by the human rights fever, Mauritania hosted the first meeting of Maghrebian leagues in March. Created in April 1986 by a young jurist, Ghali Ould Abdelhamid, the national league has among its founding members several former prisoners belonging to the Haratin emancipation movement, El Horr. This makes it particularly sensitive to the fate of the inmates at Ouatlata prison, without question the most serious and delicate case the young league has dealt with since its birth.

There remains Libya, where Mu'ammar al-Qadhafi has refused to allow anyone to take up the cause of human rights. He has razed some prisons and freed several hundred prisoners, thus winning a seal of good conduct from Amnesty International. There does exist the phantomlike Office of Libyan Attorneys that is theoretically independent of the government and reported to lead the fight for freedoms. But the extreme personalization of the human rights issue in the Jamahiriya is not necessarily a gauge of solidity. On this subject, what is decreed on high is not necessarily acquired. The Maghrebian leagues know this well and have apparently decided to give priority work in the field.

Tunisians Leading the Way

Although quite open by nature, this 52-year-old man is most discreet. The guardedness of Mohamed Charfi, president of the Tunisian Human Rights League, is the fruit of experience more than the expression of a temperament.

He was 20 years old when Tunisia gained its independence in 1956 and shared the enthusiasm of those his age for the young Tunisian state being built. Disappointed and disgusted with the system being established, in 1964 he joined with nine comrades—like him all excluded from the General Union of Tunisian Students (UGET)—in founding the Socialist Action and Study Group (GEAST), which launched a newspaper: PROSPECTS FOR A BETTER TUNISIA. The virus of Maoism split the group and Charfi was imprisoned for a time. And yet, the university professor, the jurist, remained close to reality because, he said, "too much abstraction always brings wrongs." He therefore became one of the few Tunisians to be a member of the Committee Against the War in Vietnam and, 10 years later, head of the university union engaged in negotiating the release of his comrades.

The antislogan man has developed a few wrinkles, but his ideas have not. The drafter, at the request of President Ben Ali, of the National Pact, a contract binding individuals as far apart as Muslims and communists, employers and workers, Charfi is at the heart of all debate in Tunisia today.

[JEUNE AFRIQUE] It is said that the Carthage Palace section is the League's most dynamic! Naturally, that is a joke, but it does illustrate the narrowness of your field of action.

[Charfi] Indeed, we are very satisfied with a number of accomplishments moving in the direction of the fundamental demands we have always defended, such as regulating detainment, the Tunisian Government's adherence to the international convention on torture and inhuman treatment, and so on. However, that is but a first step. The work of a league consists of being on the watch for any abuse in order to prevent it or report such abuses when they occur. It has been obscured by major action on behalf of political prisoners. It will become essential.

[JEUNE AFRIQUE] What remains to be done? The press can and must be improved, as must the law on parties. Independence of the bench, which is an old demand by the League, has not yet been taken up. Finally, one must not forget our very important role of training, for we are confronting a government, but also a people and its culture, which can sometimes contain aspects that come into conflict with a human rights activist.

Between the Government and a People To Be Educated

[JEUNE AFRIQUE] There are those who criticize your positions favoring a secular government.

[Charfi] That poses the problem of the relationship between government and Islam. We have never called for secular government as a Western concept. We know that in a Muslim country, the government has tasks of a religious nature that have always befallen it and that it must not shirk. It is the government that organizes religious education and the operation of the mosques. As for the law, it was historically the work of the ulemas [Muslim scholars]. According to the modern, democratic concept of government, law is the work of the people's representatives. We are therefore not asking for separation of church and state, but we are working for the separation of law and religion. Law can be inspired by religious principles and must take the culture of a people into account, but it must necessarily evolve toward respect for human rights.

There are several possible readings of Islam. A traditional, static reading, oriented toward the past would have one apply to a society open to the world a kind of law conceived for another type of society that existed 14 centuries ago. One can be a good Muslim and believe

that corporal punishment is now outdated, just as one can believe that the achievements of the Tunisian Personal Status Code are in keeping with an intelligent, modern, progressive reading of the sacred texts. In other words, we have no quarrel with Islam, but rather, with those who support an archaic concept of Islam.

Neither a Party Nor Even a Mass Organization

[JEUNE AFRIQUE] Is there not a risk of seeing the League become the secular arm of the government in areas where the latter does not wish to venture?

[Charfi] Each one plays a role. The government must respect a certain number of principles and President Ben Ali's speech could not be clearer in the sense that the Personal Status Code will not be revised. When there was some question of the law on adoption being abrogated, the League organized a campaign against that movement and the law was maintained.

[JEUNE AFRIQUE] Unity within the League does not always seem to be perfect.

[Charfi] While different tendencies have coexisted so far, one must not deduce therefrom that the LTDH has become a federation of parties. It includes activists from various backgrounds, but who are linked by a common denominator: adherence to the principles of human rights as set forth in the Universal Declaration. It was precisely because there were misunderstandings on this matter that the League adopted a charter 3 years ago to which every new member is required to subscribe.

[JEUNE AFRIQUE] Your elitism is sometimes criticized.

[Charfi] We are not a political party. We have no intention of nominating candidates for election. We do not have the means to wage a mass struggle; that is not our way. We need enlightened people with firm beliefs. Let us say that the League is a mass organization with respect to its objectives and an elite organization in terms of composition.

[JEUNE AFRIQUE] What is the League doing to abolish the death penalty?

[Charfi] The League has taken a position against the death penalty since its very first congress. We have undertaken extremely important action which resulted in great success because the ten persons sentenced to death following the bread riots in December 1983 were not executed. Since then, every time there has been a death sentence, we have tried to persuade the former president to grant a pardon, but unfortunately, before 7 November, capital sentences were generally carried out. That is why we were very agreeably surprised by the statement of President Ben Ali hostile to the death penalty, and I believe the time is right for the League to continue that campaign.

[JEUNE AFRIQUE] How do you conceive of your role as a prod in the Arab world, where human rights are thwarted every day?

[Charfi] The League has often denounced abuses in Libya, Egypt, Sudan, and so on. I personally observed the trial of the Bahai in Egypt, which was a blatant attempt to repress freedom of conscience. It ended with a general acquittal and our presence certainly contributed to that result. The case fit into our field of action insofar as our charter defines freedom of conscience as the freedom to choose one's religion and interpret it in one's own way. The League participates in the Arab Human Rights Organization, a completely independent, credible organization, even if its effectiveness is not always obvious.

[JEUNE AFRIQUE] Proclaiming its solidarity with the peoples of South Africa and Namibia is part of your fight, but how can you wage it here and now?

[Charfi] It is a daily action and it is fundamental to begin by cleaning one's own house! We already have contacts well underway to introduce certain fundamental human rights into primary and secondary textbooks and emphasize antiracism and antisexism.

[JEUNE AFRIQUE] Is your "model" exportable to the rest of the Maghreb?

[Charfi] I am optimistic by nature. The future belongs to those states that respect human rights. Sooner or later we will get there. The Tunisian example is being used by our Algerian, Moroccan, Arab, and African friends. Now I will confess to you that if the Personal Status Code is periodically challenged or threatened by some, it is, among other reasons, because our neighbors in the Arab and Muslim countries have not introduced into their legislation provisions doing away with polygamy or repudiation. Human rights achievements in Tunisia can only be strengthened when such action has a ripple effect.

[Boxed item, p 36]

Marion Sigaud: "October in Algeria: Torture"

December in Algiers: the first rains. In building stairwells, where children linger talking until nightfall, in the Belcourt cafes and on the Bab El Oued squares, October is still on everyone's lips. The last prisoners were freed a few weeks ago but some demonstrators have never reappeared. Accounts of torture, kidnappings, and violence fuel the conversation.

Hamid, 32: "It was the morning of Thursday, 13 October. Five policemen came to my house carrying machineguns, accompanied by an indic [informant] that I knew. They picked me up by force and accused me of burning a police car during the riots, opening police station cells, and even sodomizing a cop!" Hamid, known as

"pistolhead," a reformed hood, continues: "They took me to the central police station in a common stationwagon. Once there, they handcuffed my arms behind my back and pulled my sweater off. One of them went to get a wooden bench which they stretched me out on and to which I was tied. Another brought a canteen of water. All that time, a third man, in civilian clothes like the others, repeated the accusations, which I continued to deny. Then they stuck the canteen in my mouth right through the sweater, which they had pulled over my face, while two others beat me like mad, all over my body, on the face, especially the genitals. That lasted 2 hours. I vomited blood and passed out."

Hamid picks up his son and takes him to the next room. He returns, lifts up his djellabah, and opens his trousers. His testicles are swollen and purple. The penis is banded: It had been severed, split in two by the blows.

In a little town near the capital, Mahmoud, Hassan, Ali, Mourad and the two Kamels, merchants and craftsmen, are between the ages of 19 and 24. They form an inseparable band. On 5 October, the riots had not yet reached the village and for them it was a day like any other. At 2200 hours, while on their way home, they were arrested by plainclothesmen. "As soon as we got to where they were," Hassan tells us, "one of them pulled out his revolver. They ordered us to lie down on the ground. Then, with our wrists handcuffed behind our backs, they put us in the trunk."

They were not freed until 31 October. Throughout the entire period, they would be transferred from police station to prison and from prison to barracks where, kept in hangars, they would wait for the interrogators to start up again. "They would tie us to overturned chairs and beat on our bare feet with iron bars. They sometimes forced us to kneel on metal bars while they beat us with their hands, feet, and cables. They would regularly threaten to kill us."

One 20-year-old merchant: "I was only trying to learn news of my brother, who had been arrested. They took me in and beat me. They took me to the restroom and stuck my head in the sink. A little further on, the army was waiting for us. They made us walk on our knees through two lines of soldiers. The left file threw cold water on us while the ones on the right beat us."

The confession ended with this phrase, uttered with tear-filled eyes: "They did not even leave me my pride as a man."

New Moroccan League Established

45190025 Paris *JEUNE AFRIQUE* in French
21-28 Dec 88 pp 26-28

[Interview with Mehdi Elmandjra, founder-president of the Moroccan Human Rights Organization, by Francois Soudan: "To Defend All Moroccans"; in Rabat—date not given]

[Text] Saturday, 10 December, a beautiful day in Rabat. The "rainmen" (see page 34) had for once yielded to the sun, and there were many on this the 40th anniversary of

the Universal Declaration of Human Rights who viewed it as a symbol. Some 400 persons were crowded into the Allal El Fassi Room in Agdal, a residential district of the Moroccan capital, to attend the constituent assembly of the Moroccan Human Rights Organization. Prominent opposition figures, foreign guests, including Miloud Ibrahimi, president of the Algerian League, but no officials: In the end, the row of chairs reserved for them was occupied by leaders of leftist parties.

Could the OMDH still be an object of fear? That seed of civic strength, thrice prevented from forming, has nevertheless enjoyed some understanding from the government in recent weeks. King Hassan II first of all recognized that Morocco needed "a center, a headquarters" under the sign of human rights. "That type of association," he said in substance, "must play the role of an alarm."

Negotiations in Midstream

"It is a guarantee for everyone, including my granddaughters, who will not be princesses."

During debate in Parliament on 6 December, Driss Basri, minister of interior and later information, said "This move is motivated by good will." However, he said, insofar as its promoters contacted us in order to cooperate with authorities, "the government asked for a delay" before granting the necessary authorizations.

Leaving negotiations in midstream, the delay lasted nearly a year before finally ending on 10 December. The OMDH was thus given a "conventional" superstructure, mainly including a national council and an office with 19 members. The latter is mainly made up of independent jurists, but also includes members of the three leftist parties represented in Parliament. One of them, attorney Abdelaziz Bennani, member of the Socialist Union of Popular Forces (USFP) and, for a time, of that party's executive committee, occupies the key post of secretary general. The Presidency of the OMDH will be held by an independent, Omar Azziman, 41, professor at the Rabat School of Law. Finally, Mehdi Elmandjra, the academic who did so much to help the organization see the light of day, will occupy the largely honorary post of president-founder. In this interview, he talked about his hopes and motivations.

Hatchet Buried

In its "Statement of 10 December," the OMDH asked for "effective implementation of the multiparty system," true freedom of opinion, press and creativity, regulation of police custody, improvements in conditions of detention, and so on. It emphasizes abrogation of legislative texts contrary to freedoms: the dahirs of 1935 and 1939, essentially used in trials of opinion, as well as of restrictive modifications made in the Code of Penal Procedure and the Code of Public Freedoms in 1962.

The indispensable appeal for the release of all political prisoners quite obviously attracted great attention. Moreover, several inmates at Kenitra Prison had sent a letter of support to the congress that was read to the assembled body. Nor will the task, one of the main priorities of the OMDH, be an easy one. From Kenitra to Marrakech, from Marxist Leninists to Islamists and including a few communists, the kingdom's prisoners of opinion are often not officially recognized as such.

In a sense, the constituent congress of the OMDH was anxious to bury the hatchet with respect to the other two existing groups: the Moroccan Human Rights Association, courageous but too frequently exposed to police harassment; and the Moroccan Human Rights Defense League, close to the Istiqlal Party. It has paid homage to their fight and it is said that joint actions "can be considered" and are unquestionably desirable.

To contribute to the gradual creation in Morocco of a true state of law, to fight against sporadic deviations from that law.... "What we want to do is in the properly viewed interest of the government," say OMDH leaders. "We are offering it a safety valve, and we can only improve Morocco's reputation abroad." The image and tone are therefore clearly moderate and no one in Rabat seemed to be seeking confrontation, even if everyone, especially the founders of the OMDH, knows that the organization will above all be judged on its effectiveness and consequently, on its pugnaciousness as well.

'Defending All Moroccans'

[JEUNE AFRIQUE] After three bans, the OMDH was able to hold its constituent congress. Why the sudden change of heart?

[Elmandjra] We have never received any official explanation of the ban on our previous attempts. As far as the authorization just granted us is concerned, the minister of interior and information explained it to Parliament. He is better qualified than I to respond. Having said that much, the meeting which his majesty granted me in Ifrane on 2 December is no longer a secret. The king has taken up the human rights issue in Morocco, which can only encourage us. By virtue of Article 19 of the Constitution, he is the protector of public freedoms and the rights of every Moroccan.

[JEUNE AFRIQUE] During his speech to Parliament, Minister Driss Basri explained that you came knocking on the door of his ministry and he therefore had to take the time to verify the purpose and makeup of your organization. Is that true?

[Elmandjra] On that subject, we have had several meetings with the minister, and he always emphasized that point. But let us understand one another: An organization to defend human rights is not a club for meditation. It can succeed only by working with the public authorities who make the decisions. It is therefore completely

normal that one of our prime tasks should be to remain in constant, close contact with the Ministry of Interior. We are not a political party, and without the cooperation of the authorities we cannot be operational.

[JEUNE AFRIQUE] There is consequently a risk of being absorbed by the government and looking like a kind of official human rights organization.

Listening System

[Elmandjra] There is no such risk. The cornerstone of our entire structure is total independence from everything. I do not think that going to discuss prison conditions with the authorities, for example, makes us an official organization. Furthermore, the history of our development is proof of our credibility. We have resisted any form of intimidation and pressure and rejected any compromise in order to organize with the most complete freedom.

[JEUNE AFRIQUE] What is the extent of human rights violations in Morocco?

[Elmandjra] Violations of this type are a worldwide phenomenon, I would first like to emphasize. As far as Morocco is concerned, the basic problem has to do with a lack of correspondence between constitutional texts guaranteeing collective and individual freedoms and the way in which the laws are obeyed. There are also cases of abuses of power, conditions of detention, those of custody at police stations, the lack of information concerning persons arrested, and so on. All of these failings are essentially due to the way in which officials apply or do not apply legislation. They are particularly frequent in rural areas, where excesses of power are much less known than in the cities. Our purpose, moreover, is to set up a listening system throughout the country in order to act when and where we must.

[JEUNE AFRIQUE] You are asking for the release of all political prisoners in Morocco. Who are they?

[Elmandjra] Where is the boundary between a common law crime and a crime of opinion? It is not always easy to say. Our position is simple: No one can be arrested for his opinions. But every time we speak of human rights in a developing country, why must we go directly to the category known as "political prisoners"? Because it is of interest to the media? Because some of them are known abroad? Too often we are unaware of all those who have no recourse and our task is to defend all Moroccans, without discrimination. Having said that much, we shall not hesitate to defend political prisoners, among others, and we are convinced that the new wind blowing over Morocco, with the support of the king, will finally cause that notion to disappear forever from this country, by next year at the latest.

[JEUNE AFRIQUE] What will be the purpose of the Maghrebian Human Rights Federation whose launching you announced during your congress?

[Elmandjra] It falls in line with the Nouakchott declaration drafted in March 1988. Its basis is clear: There can be no Maghrebian unity without first having a Maghreb of human rights.

Federation Open to Libya

[JEUNE AFRIQUE] Libya is apparently absent from your plan.

[Elmandjra] The Maghrebian Federation is made up of existing organizations entirely devoted to protecting human rights. We have every hope that Libya will provide itself with something equivalent.

[JEUNE AFRIQUE] Why was Morocco among the last in the Maghreb to have an independent organization to defend human rights?

[Elmandjra] Since its independence, Morocco has had a royal charter to defend human rights. A multiparty system has always existed here, along with relative freedom of the press and expression of opinion. I am a professor at the university and have never felt inhibited about expressing my convictions.

[JEUNE AFRIQUE] You are not necessarily a common case.

[Elmandjra] In this country, there is what comes from the authorities, but there is also a phenomenon of self-censorship. Freedom is not something that can be granted. One must learn to seize it. Our very existence is proof that when one truly wants to take up a goal, one can reach it in Morocco. There is progress in this country, and for years one could feel much freer here than elsewhere in the Maghreb. Other human rights organizations were formed before us. That is no reason to have the slightest complex.

[JEUNE AFRIQUE] Why did you refuse the actual Presidency of the OMDH?

[Elmandjra] That is a totally secondary question. Within the organization, each one is willing to move further and even take risks. No one is indispensable. It is a movement, a state of mind, that is stronger than any one of those comprising it. I personally believe that the organization must be headed by persons younger than I, less influenced by models from the past. They have the future of the OMDH in their hands and will henceforth be the only spokesmen.

PALESTINIAN AFFAIRS

West Bankers, Gazans Express Opinions on U.S.-PLO Dialogue

44040196 Jerusalem AL-BAYADIR AL-SIYASI
in Arabic 31 Dec 88 pp 15-21

[Article: "Feeling of Satisfaction and Approval; Number of West Bankers and Gazans Express Opinions on Latest U.S. Decision To Initiate Direct Dialogue With PLO"]

[Text] The intransigent U.S. position toward the PLO constituted a major obstacle in the face of the sound movement toward which the entire world community, embodied in the UN member states, has been inclined.

The constructive and well-studied steps taken by the Palestinian people's legitimate representative provided a clear indication of the people's wish to surmount all the obstacles hindering their attainment of rights guaranteed by the international community to all peoples, including the right to have a state that gathers the dispersed people, unites their ranks, and achieves their aspirations.

In addition to this constant Palestinian position, there was international consensus, especially in the European position, that put the United States at a crossroads: Either be isolated from the world community or respond, even if only superficially, to the latest developments in the international arena. Thus, it has been decided to initiate dialogue with the PLO as a prelude to recognizing the serious and positive nature of the Palestinian procession before the entire world.

Regarding the latest U.S. decision to initiate direct dialogue with the PLO, AL-BAYADIR AL-SIYASI has explored the opinions of a number of West Bankers and Gazans so as to record the Palestinian voice at home and to reaffirm the importance of this voice in what is happening.

Shaykh Sa'd-al-Din al-'Alami, chairman of Higher Islamic Council in Jerusalem:

Shaykh Sa'd-al-Din al-'Alami, the chairman of the Higher Islamic Council in Jerusalem, does not disagree that this is one of the best decisions made by the United States vis-a-vis the PLO and the Arabs since 1948, i.e., from the time Israel was founded until the present or, in other words, through its recent decision to ban Yasir 'Arafat from entering the United States to address the United Nations. The United States then realized that all nations of the world were against it because the UN General Assembly in its entirety decided to move to Geneva to hear 'Arafat's address. Yasir 'Arafat's address was most political, and it demonstrated that the Arabs do not harbor any hostility toward the State of Israel and that they are prepared to coexist with it. Consequently, the United States was compelled to initiate the negotiations with the PLO. I thank the United States for this initiative, and I hope that matters will proceed well.

Shaykh Muhammad 'Awwad, dean of Palestine's Religious Institute, [branch of] al-Azhar, in Gaza:

I do not think that the dialogue with the Palestinian leadership is a political maneuver because U.S. credibility depends on the truthfulness of U.S. proclamations. It has been learned from international reports and from the Americans themselves that the decision to hold a dialogue with the PLO and to launch the peace process came as a result of the congruence of U.S. opinions, including the opinions of President Reagan, President-Elect Bush, and two former presidents. The decision also came after the PLO declared, through Yasir 'Arafat, at the UN General Assembly meeting in Geneva its acceptance, in accordance with the PNC resolutions, of the conditions demanded by the United States. Though the decision is late, it is hoped that the United States will quickly recognize the Palestinian people's legitimate rights and their right to establish an independent state, especially since the majority of the world's countries, including the major powers, have welcomed this announcement on starting the peace process. The ball is now in the Israeli Government's court, especially since the Israeli progressive forces and numerous prominent politicians [have welcomed this step]. Weismann, a former Israeli minister, has said that the U.S. decision to hold a dialogue with the PLO means the start of a new era in the Middle East. In an interview with the Israeli broadcasting station, the Israeli minister stressed that in its statements, the PLO has clearly recognized the presence of the State of Israel and that, therefore, the PLO has become a likely partner in the peace negotiations. This minister has taken numerous positions inclined toward embarking on a dialogue with the PLO, provided that this organization recognize Israel, accept Resolutions 242 and 338, and renounce terrorism.

On the basis of international legitimacy, with convocation of the conference approved by the UN General Assembly's latest meeting, and on the basis of the Palestinian initiative announced by the PLO chairman, we expect the U.S.-Palestinian dialogue to produce positive results for the Palestinian people's right to self-determination and to establishing their independent state on their national soil. We hope that the Israeli Government will respond to the latest Palestinian appeals for Israeli-PLO negotiations under UN auspices.

Mustafa al-Natshah, former mayor of Hebron:

Mustafa 'Abd-al-Nabi al-Natshah, the dismissed mayor of Hebron, sees in the U.S. decision to open the door of dialogue with the PLO a victory for the Palestinian cause and for the cause of peace. He has said: It is the first step toward recognition of the Palestinian people's right to self-determination and to their independent state. This decision will also be a successful means to pressure Israel to move toward the international conference and to recognize the Palestinian people's legitimate rights.

Fayiz Abu-Rahmah, Gaza Strip Lawyers Union chairman:

In 1975, the U.S. administration set conditions for initiating dialogue with the PLO, namely: [Resolutions] 242 and 338, and renunciation of terrorism. These conditions have been met. The United States no longer has a justification not to start the dialogue. The dialogue initiated last Friday is the beginning of a bridge between the two sides, and this bridge will definitely help the Middle East peace process.

I don't think that this step is a maneuver. Rather, it emanates from a basic principle because the Americans realize that the time has come to deal with the PLO. This dialogue will be completed in the future under the administration of Bush, the new President, who will definitely help the Middle East peace process. Thus, the chapter of estrangement between the two sides ends and the chapter of negotiation begins. This estrangement has lasted too long, but all in good time.

Dr Antoine Sansur, vice president of Bethlehem University:

The U.S. decision to initiate direct dialogue with the PLO is a positive step which we must exploit maximally to enhance the peace process.

We hope that the dialogue will lead to holding the international conference which, we believe, is the only way to find a just solution to the Palestinian issue.

Dr Haydar 'Abd-al-Shafi, chairman of the Palestinian Red Crescent Society in the Gaza Strip:

Without indulging in optimism, it is my opinion that the U.S. decision to begin dialogue with the PLO is a departure from the intransigent U.S. position that has persisted for years and a victory for the occupied territories' Intifadah and the PLO. It is my opinion that mere communication opens horizons that may lead to positive results. But we cannot, of course, disregard the declared U.S. position which has been reiterated in the decision to hold talks with the PLO, namely, the U.S. opposition to the creation of an independent Palestinian state. We as Palestinians cannot cede what we consider natural and fundamental rights of the Palestinian people, especially the right to an independent Palestinian state and the Palestinian refugee rights as spelled out by the UN resolutions. In fact, I wish to stress here that if the U.S. position is not emanating from a serious and objective tendency to achieve just peaceful solutions, then it must be made clear that the Palestinian people will not succumb to any pressures that seek to force them to cede their natural rights or to abandon their determination to be dealt with as a people united at home and abroad.

Jiryis al-Khuri, former chairman of the West Bank Lawyers Union:

Lawyer Jiryis al-Khuri, a former chairman of the West Bank Lawyers Union, sees the U.S. administration's recent decision to hold direct dialogue with the PLO as the first positive decision on the Palestinian issue since 1947. He has said: This sketch does not allow one to dwell on the reasons and motives that have urged the U.S. Administration to take this position. However, it behooves me to at least note the international climate of detente that helps settle regional conflicts with peaceful means, Jordan's decision to disengage itself from the West Bank, and the numerous pressures put on the U.S. decisionmakers in Washington at all levels.

Lawyer Jiryis al-Khuri believes that even though the first meeting in this dialogue has already taken place in Tunis between a U.S. representative and PLO representatives, it is not right, because of numerous factors, to conclude that this dialogue will continue and will grow. The most significant of these factors is the U.S. temperament. I do not find it unlikely that the U.S. decision to hold dialogue is nothing more than a political game and a smoke screen. He added: There is, moreover, the counterpolitical activity undertaken by Israel to prevent continuation of the dialogue. One must also take into consideration that the two parties to the dialogue are the PLO and the United States, and that it is no secret that the latter is not a party to the Arab-Israeli conflict, especially not to the Palestinian issue.

Al-Khuri further added: Finally, we must always remember that this dialogue is not, by any criterion, tantamount to negotiations. A dialogue may be protracted and may remain just a dialogue, never rising to the level of negotiations in the international sense of the word. However, it is hoped that this dialogue will rise to the level of serious negotiations between the PLO and Israel and will lead people to a just, comprehensive, and lasting peace that achieves the Palestinian people's hopes and aspirations for self-determination, and all things come to them who wait.

Engineer Hatim 'Ata Abu-Sha'ban, Gaza Strip Engineers Union chairman:

The U.S. decision to open dialogue with the Palestinian leadership has not come as a result of a U.S. initiative or out of the blue. The decision came when support for the recent Palestinian resolutions became so comprehensive and unprecedented at the world and UN level and at the level of numerous factions of the U.S. and Israeli people. This comprehensive support for the clear Palestinian position compelled the United States to reconsider its calculations and realize that it cannot stand as a stumbling block in the face of the steps for real and just peace for all the area's peoples, including the Palestinian people and Israel. The United States was thus compelled to open a dialogue with the Palestinian leadership. There is no doubt that this decision does not mean that the problem has ended and that the issue has been solved. It is certain that there will be hard, thorny, and protracted negotiations and that attempts will be made to block the

peace path. But what will ultimately achieve a just settlement is the continuing of steps for a just peace, gaining continued world and UN support, and maintaining a constantly dynamic condition so that (even) those who do not desire a just peace may be compelled to take positive steps that they may not be isolated internationally and may not be considered a stumbling block on the path of a just peace. This is what the United States has done by opening dialogue with the PLO. Extreme caution is also required in every step of the negotiations to ensure the credibility of the other side, at least by compelling this side to be honest in its dealings for fear of international isolation. Extreme caution will foil any maneuver hatched against peace and aimed at destroying a just settlement and will make a just settlement easily accessible to all. In any case, the U.S. dialogue with the Palestinian leadership is a positive step on the path of a just solution and a lasting peace for all the area's peoples and states. Because the Palestinian people, who have always had and who continue to have a real and serious desire for a just peace, have become capable of clarifying their position and their just cause and of eliminating the distorted image from the eyes of the world public opinion, I expect that this dialogue will be constructive and extremely beneficial and will ultimately lead to holding the international Middle East peace conference in the presence of the major powers and of all the parties to the Middle East conflict, including the PLO and Israel. This international conference will lead to achieving a just and comprehensive peace for all Mideastern peoples and states, including Palestine and Israel.

Dr Amin Majaj, medical director of al-Muttala' Hospital, former member of Parliament and deputy chairman of Board of Directors of Arab Development Plan Association:

Dr Majaj believes that it is better to have than not to have a dialogue and hopes that this dialogue will produce good results for the Palestinian issue. He has asserted that the U.S. agreement to initiate direct dialogue with the PLO came as a result of Arab, European, and Soviet political pressures. He believes that the Arab pressure, embodied in the Arab countries', especially Saudi Arabia's, refrainment from purchasing weapons from the United States, was the most significant pressure and that it pushed the United States to agree to open dialogue with the PLO. Dr Majaj sees in this economic pressure a great importance that exceeds the importance of political, military, or other pressures.

Dr 'Abdallah Sabri, chairman of Jerusalem branch of the Doctors Union:

This administration's decision to open dialogue with the PLO has come as a result of the resolutions the PNC adopted in its special session in Algiers and in the wake of 'Arafat's address to the UN General Assembly in Geneva—an address which isolated the United States and its ally, Israel, from the entire world. The Palestinian

issue attracted the world's official and popular attention and this compelled the United States to succumb to the Palestinian demand.

Dr Sabri added: The dialogue initiated with the PLO will produce positive results for the peace procession and for a solution to the Palestinian issue.

Husam Ibrahim 'Uwaydah, chairman of the Gaza Strip Accountants and Auditors Association:

The peaceful Palestinian projection has received international sympathy and support from all the peace-loving countries that reject the policies of oppression and occupation. The steps and resolutions of the legitimate Palestinian leadership, embodied in the PLO, have received international support. The Palestinian political program has also received Arab, Islamic and international support and the support of the nonaligned bloc, the EEC, the OAU, and the friendly Eastern Bloc countries. Only Israel and the United States failed to welcome the Palestinian political program. Under the influence of international pressure and isolation, the U.S. Administration was compelled to embark on dialogue with the PLO, and a meeting has been held in Tunis. I believe that the U.S. step is a good beginning from which we can expect a lot. The past hostile positions were taken under the pressure of Israel and of the U.S. Jewish lobby which has put pressure on all the successive U.S. administrations. This pressure has begun to weaken and vanish under the impact of the higher U.S. interests which direct U.S. decisions. This is a good beginning. What helps in this regard is the policy of detente between the two superpowers and the East-West relaxation. All these are elements that put pressure on President George Bush's upcoming administration to make the United States take its rightful place in the Middle East equation and in solving the Palestinian issue and to also make it abandon its alignment with Israel in favor of alignment with right and justice. This will, in turn, compel Israel to succumb to international pressure and to participate in an international conference to be held under the auspices of the five major powers in the presence of all parties to the conflict, including the state of Palestine, to find a solution for the Arab-Israeli conflict. The path to the international conference will be a very difficult path and the U.S.-Palestinian dialogue will culminate with recognition of the Palestinian people's right, with the establishment of their independent state, and with Israel's withdrawal from the occupied Palestinian and Arab territories.

Dr Khalid Kan'an, chairman of the Academicians Committee at Jerusalem University's Science and Technology College:

The U.S. announcement on the start of dialogue with the PLO is an indicator of an obvious change in the position of this administration which only 2 weeks ago even refused to grant the PLO chairman an entry visa in

furtherance of its policy of hostility to our people's right to make their word and voice heard to the world.

The United States then realized that it was isolated and that its closest allies disagreed with its policy toward the Palestinian people. Dr Kan'an has said: It is my belief that this realization dawned on the U.S. Administration after the defeat it had suffered in the international circles in the wake of its initial decision not to grant the PLO chairman an entry visa.

He added: In the light of all of this, under the canopy of the international relaxation and to preserve its reputation among its European allies and among some Arab regimes which it is eager to safeguard, the U.S. Administration had no option but to succumb and agree to the dialogue.

In my opinion, this transformation does not at all mean that this administration has begun to understand the facts and to view them objectively. Rather, it is doing what it is doing under the impact of the constant international pressure that has emanated from the Palestinian political leadership's movements and positions.

Dr Khalid Kan'an went on to add: While being aware of the significance of the U.S. position and of the dialogue with the United States in the current phase, our people realize that this alone is not enough and that the United States must intervene immediately to force its ally to end its inhuman practices against our people in the occupied territories and to open the door for the entry of UN forces until the international conference is held, that is, if the U.S. Administration wishes to demonstrate its goodwill and to prove the sincerity of its positions.

Concluding, Dr Kan'an said: I believe that only our people's resolve, their strong will, and their continued struggle can soften the U.S. position and even change the Israeli position.

Dr Darwish Nazzal of Jerusalem's Al-Maqasid Charitable Hospital:

Dr Nazzal believes that the decision is good and that the U.S. recognition of the dialogue is a recognition of the PLO.

Dr Mahdi 'Abd-al-Hadi, chairman of Palestinian Academic Society for International Affairs:

On the other hand, Dr Mahdi 'Abd-al-Hadi, the chairman of the Palestinian Academic Society for International Affairs in venerable Jerusalem, has stressed that the United States "had presented us with a basket of rotten eggs" which George Shultz repeatedly carried to the area. Finally, and after hearing the historic Palestinian peace initiative, George Shultz offered, contrary to his habit, a "fresh egg" for breakfast. Dr 'Abd-al-Hadi added: But the Palestinian is accustomed to 3 meals daily (breakfast, lunch, and dinner) and one egg for

breakfast is not enough. Consequently, what is awaited is a complete meal in celebration of the glorious birthday.

Dr 'Abd-al-Hadi noted that this simple framework is for the purpose of opening the relations dossier. As for the political framework, Dr 'Abd-al-Hadi has noted that it is embodied in the following:

1. Official U.S. acceptance: The start of the official dialogue is tantamount to a practical salvation of the U.S. presence in the area. Without this acceptance, no American, official or otherwise, would be able to deal with and exist in our area as long as Washington's doors remain closed in the face of the Palestinian administration.

2. A quick rescue of the general moderate tendency in the procession of political solutions in the world. The dossier of this procession was opened by General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev and the procession means solving regional problems politically.

3. Serious and responsible endeavors to smooth the way before the new U.S. Administration to open the U.S.-Palestinian dossier with ease.

4. A frank message to the leaders of Israel and of its institutions on the need to adhere to the just international framework embodied in the implementation of [Resolutions] 242 and 338 as General Walters, the permanent U.S. delegate to the United Nation, stated in his brief address in Geneva.

Dr Dhiyab 'Ayyush, dean of Bethlehem University's School of Arts:

Dr Dhiyab 'Ayyush, the head of the sociology section and the dean of Bethlehem University's School of Arts, believes that the U.S. decision to open direct dialogue with the PLO is a logical consequence of Palestinian, international and U.S. preludes.

With the Palestinian diplomacy's magnificent success at the international level and with brother 'Arafat's presentation of a real Palestinian peace plan which was received with broad international acceptance, a U.S. move had to be made to find a solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict.

At the international level, the world states and peoples have, according to Dr 'Ayyush, become more convinced of the serious Palestinian tendency toward peace. They have also realized that their interests will continue to be threatened by instability in the area and that something has to be done to serve their interests and the interests of the peoples involved in the conflict.

The realistic Palestinian diplomacy abroad and the new international tendency to tackle international conflicts have helped in this regard.

Dr 'Ayyush added: At the U.S. level, the United States felt that it was isolated internationally and that it acted contrary to its alleged support for the freedom of oppressed peoples when it refused to permit Yasir 'Arafat to go to the United Nations to explain the Palestinian peace plan.

Concluding, he said: In any case, we view the U.S. step positively and we hope that it has emanated from a true U.S. conviction.

Lawyer Jamil al-Turayfi, deputy mayor-elect of al-Birah:

We welcome the latest U.S. step, embodied in opening the dialogue with the PLO, and hope that it will be the start of a new U.S. policy in the area—a policy compatible with the international desire and with the world public opinion which is demanding a solution to the Middle East problem through an international conference attended by all the parties concerned, including the PLO, and within the framework of recognizing the right of all the area's states and peoples to live in peace and security and our Palestinian people's right to self-determination.

Journalist Hanna 'Amirah, member of the Journalists League's Executive Committee:

Speaking of the initiation of direct U.S. dialogue with the PLO, Hanna 'Amirah, an editor of Jerusalem's AL-TA-LI'AH, has said: The U.S. decision to initiate dialogue with the PLO is a first step on a long path aimed at paving the way to convening an international conference.

'Amirah added: This decision was not, of course, made as a result of U.S. noble-mindedness but came as a result of international and Arab pressures on the U.S. and after political isolation was imposed on the U.S. presence in the world and in the Middle East. This isolation became evident during the UN General Assembly vote when the assembly decided to move to Geneva to hear Yasir 'Arafat.

Hanna 'Amirah has stressed that the success or failure of the dialogue depends largely on the Arab countries' position, meaning that by using their vast capabilities, the Arab states can put pressure on the United States to lead the dialogue with the PLO to tangible conclusions. The Arab states can also take practical steps to bolster and develop the PLO's role.

Lawyer Muhammad Hashim Abu-Sha'ban from Gaza:

Despite my personal conviction of not trusting the U.S. Administration, its decisions, its statements, or its actions because of the obvious hostility it has harbored for the Palestinian people throughout the past 40 years of hardship, the recent U.S. decision to open dialogue with the PLO can—its declared reservations notwithstanding—be considered an extremely significant positive

step. The U.S. Administration would not have made this decision if it had not been for the background of the Palestinian people's ongoing Intifadah which has attracted the world's attention to the Palestinian just cause and which has influenced world public opinion positively. Through the Intifadah, the Palestinian people have underlined their determination to end the occupation and to find a just and comprehensive solution to the Middle East conflict, especially to the Palestinian issue. The Palestinian leadership, embodied in the PLO, has reaffirmed this desire and has persisted in the Palestinian course of moderation as a Palestinian inlet and initiative confirming the Palestinian tendency to enhance the process of comprehensive peace in the area and of blockading the other parties that are opposed to peace and of exposing them to world public opinion. This is something which the U.S. Administration could not easily disregard, especially since the entire world imposed isolation on it after George Shultz, its secretary of state, decided not to grant Yasir 'Arafat a visa to enter the United States and deliver his historic address to the United Nations in New York.

The U.S. decision to open the dialogue cannot be considered the beginning of a phase for a just settlement. There is an immense difference between a just settlement and a realistic settlement based on the fait accompli imposed throughout long years. The formula of and the means to accept such a settlement can be agreed upon in the desired international conference. Therefore, initiating the dialogue is tantamount to a phase preceding a realistic settlement in which the Palestinian side will try to achieve as much justice as it can.

In any case, the decision to initiate dialogue with the PLO is not considered a maneuver. Despite the significance of this positive step, which undoubtedly seeks to break the psychological and political deadlock and to turn the wheel of peace in the Middle East, it is essential to deal with this new reality with extreme caution. There is no doubt that this dialogue will encounter obstacle after obstacle. But this does not mean that the Palestinian side (does not possess) the wisdom and the ability to overcome any obstacle, especially since it is interested in a serious dialogue for right, freedom, and peace.

Lawyer Muhammad 'Abd-al-Qadir Abu-Sharar, Gaza:

On the basis of past experience and of reality, I am confident that the Palestinian people's enemy is not just Israel but also NATO, led by the United States, NATO's mouthpiece, which figures prominently in the NATO picture, and that the Jewish people have been used as a means to drive the Arab countries apart and to prevent them from achieving their political and social objectives. The United States was compelled to make its latest gesture because all countries have sympathized and empathized with the Palestinian people's tragedy. The proposed negotiation is nothing but a waste of time and a form of opportunity exploitation. The real place for ending this problem should be the United Nations where

the problem started. Any contact with the United States is a waste of time. What also compelled the United States to behave as it has recently is its realization that the Arab people will surpass all their disagreements and will unite their ranks. Such a development is not in the West's or NATO's interest because it will unite a number of countries with a vast area and with abundant living resources—countries that have their constitution in the Koran which safeguards their entity and unites their ranks for what is right and for recognizing others' rights.

Lawyer 'Adli Abu-Ghazalah, Gaza:

The PNC resolution and brother Abu 'Ammar's address to the United Nations clearly demonstrate our people's tendency toward a just solution through peaceful negotiations in an international conference attended by all parties to the area's conflict, including a Palestinian state that participates as an equal to the other parties in accordance with international legitimacy and with the UN resolutions on the Palestinian problem. The U.S. decision to open dialogue with the Palestinian leadership means, in my opinion, an important beginning toward recognition of the PLO as the sole legitimate representative with whom negotiations can be held to the exclusion of all other groupings or councils. Moreover, the new international facts which show that all countries are unanimous in their support for the Palestinian peace tendency and that the Arab countries and blocs of other countries stand strongly behind the Palestinian decision have generated a strong diplomatic momentum that has put pressure on the United States and compelled it to make its decision to open dialogue. Therefore, I believe that the new U.S. tendency is a serious tendency because what concerns the United States is its interests in the Arab world and its international reputation. The United States is also concerned with breaking the belt of isolation created around it by the international consensus, especially among Britain, France, and the other European Community countries, i.e., the closest U.S. allies, who appealed to the United States to open the dialogue and to take a step forward. But the peace-making process is hard and difficult. However, this is a sound beginning on the path of establishing a just, comprehensive, and lasting peace.

The new given political facts and the rapid international development in favor of our cause will have their weight, regardless of the well-known shackles Kissinger imposed on previous U.S. policy. The Israeli political leadership will not, whatever its color or tendency, be able to disregard these facts for long. The old and new history of the area's and the world's peoples makes me say that France negotiated with the Algerian Liberation Front while their war went on and that the United States itself negotiated with Vietnam while the war raged on most intensely. If U.S. goodwill exists, there is nothing to prevent the United States from safeguarding its credibility in the world as a free country which proclaims that it holds the freedom of all peoples sacred and from following the right path. Let the future speak for itself and let

us approach developments cautiously and with united ranks and our future will, God willing, be bright and honorable.

Researcher Ribhi Hamdunah, Gaza:

The Palestinian-U.S. dialogue is a product of the changes that have occurred in the international and regional political situation. On the one hand, the Intifadah has crushed all the alternatives which sought, with U.S. support, to replace the PLO as the Palestinian people's representative. This is a conviction which established itself strongly even in the U.S. Administration, especially in the wake of Shultz' failed tours. On the other hand, the regional situation is moving with noticeable acceleration toward the crystallization of a new Arab axis which, if materialized, will pose a serious threat to Israel's military superiority. This development is a result of Iraq's victory in the Gulf war and of the fact that Iraq has devoted itself to the role of regional leader—a role which became vacant when the Camp David accords abolished Egypt's regional leadership role and when Iraq, the only country capable of filling this role, became preoccupied.

Third, the international relaxation between the Eastern and Western blocs—a relaxation approaching detente—imposes on each of the two international parties a political approach toward regional problems that does not pose a threat to the other party's interests and that does not permit the emergence of new regional powers that threaten the detente. This situation leads practically to diminishing the role Israel plays in serving Western interests. It also causes Israeli policies that lead to intensifying or detonating the regional situation to be tantamount to a threat to the Western bloc's interests.

In the light of these given facts, the tendency of the U.S. Administration, whichever administration it may be, toward dialogue with the PLO becomes an inevitable tendency dictated by the Western bloc's interests and a tendency that is not in any way connected with the issues of humanitarian and moral principles, even though one should not particularly slight the importance of these principles in forming Western public opinion which pressures the Western countries' political tendency.

Within this context, the Palestinian-U.S. dialogue can lead to a tendency toward an international peace conference, especially since the U.S. partners in the Western bloc are pressuring in this direction out of concern for their interests in the area which are clearly distinct from the U.S. interests.

Lawyer Riyad Qardaya, Gaza:

In the wake of the series of decisions which were hostile to the PLO and the [Palestinian] cause and which put the United States and Israel in an international isolation that exposed the true nature of these two countries to the entire world, George Shultz' decision to open dialogue with the Palestinian leadership came as no surprise. Each

of the two countries realized that the rapid developments moving in the PLO's direction and the constant and ceaseless support for the cause constituted a danger that had to be stemmed by diverting attention to a new interest-attracting development. An observer of the U.S. and Israeli position is well-aware that the true objective is to force the PLO to make concessions other than the ones which it has already made and which had been demanded as a debilitating U.S. precondition.

The United States has backed down on its decision and suspended the dialogue, alleging that the PLO has not responded practically to the demand of renouncing terrorism.

Even though the meeting between the two sides is tantamount to a diplomatic passport with which the PLO leadership has entered the international community through its widest door, it does truly harbor in its folds an invisible objective which casts suspicion on the PLO's credibility and depicts it as incapable of exercising control in the [occupied] territories.

Unless the United States is compelled by other developments that prevent it from capitulating to Israel and unless it has the true resolve and the goodwill to bring the issue to a just solution, which is doubtful, then this decision will only be another link in the issue's chain.

Journalist Ahmad Isma'il, Gaza:

The decision made by the U.S. State Department to begin dialogue with the PLO came as a surprise. But it is important enough to be judged as a significant positive step, especially since we are aware that the out-going U.S. Administration has been hostile to the PLO and has denied the Palestinian people's right to self-determination, not to mention its absolute alignment with Israel. However, this U.S. step is no less important than the numerous practical steps which the U.S. Administration is required to take if it truly wants to establish peace and end the Arab-Israeli conflict. As for my future expectations of the outcome of the U.S.-Palestinian dialogue, this dialogue will be hard and difficult, and its threads will not become clear unless the elected U.S. Administration takes daring practical steps in the coming phase, especially since the statements of the U.S. Administration officials confirm that the United States continues to be fully aligned with Israel, since they consider the dialogue a means and not an end and since the U.S. Administration refuses to put any pressure on Israel to make it change its intransigent peace-rejecting position. This means that the U.S. decision is a tactical decision made as a result of the international pressures put on the United States to change its position in the wake of the international support for the Palestinian people's rights and of the recognition of the state of Palestine. I fear that the U.S. Administration will use Israel's rejection and intransigence as a new weapon to put pressure on the Arab countries and the PLO to make further concessions. Therefore, the PLO and the Arab countries are

required to make united efforts to pressure the new U.S. Administration to take practical positions and steps to establish peace in the Middle East, especially since the political and diplomatic efforts by the PLO and the Arab countries at the international level have played a role in the U.S. decision to open dialogue with the PLO.

Dr Ahmad Tawfiq al-Yaziji, Gaza:

Through Shultz' shuttle trips, the Americans engaged in maneuvers in the past in an attempt to find alternatives to the PLO to negotiate with. The Americans then tried to make the Palestinians back down on their principled positions and on the resolutions of the latest PNC which proclaimed the Palestinian state and took serious steps in the direction of peace. There is no doubt that they will try to maneuver against the PLO again and again. But I don't believe they will be able to accomplish anything or to change what the brothers agreed upon at the PNC conference. The U.S. position has not changed but has merely succumbed to the will of the Palestinian people and of the PLO leadership. The Intifadah has forced the Americans to deal with the Palestinians as the main element in the Middle East problem and as a people with a legitimate right. By disregarding and denying this right, the Americans were futilely trying to make the Palestinians forget their cause, abandon the creation of an independent state, and forget about ending the occupation.

'Abd-al-Ra'uf Abu-'Asab (Abu Kayid), secretary of Souvenir Merchants in Arab Jerusalem:

Commenting on the U.S. decision to open direct dialogue with the PLO, Abu-'Asab said: I support the PLO's dialogue with the United States and with all countries of the world.

I urge the world to accelerate convocation of the international Middle East peace conference and to reaffirm the right of all the area's peoples to live in peace.

Dr 'Abd-al-Qadir Jabbarin from Sa'ir, Hebron:

The U.S. Administration's agreement to begin direct dialogue with the PLO is a positive step and a correction of the U.S. policy which has supported Israel since it was founded in 1948. The United States recognized the 1948 partition resolution which is founded on the establishment of an Arab state in Palestine. But it then denied the Palestinian people's right to self-determination and it has given Israel absolute support since 1948. Until 1967, the United States dealt with Arab countries such as Jordan and Egypt to find a solution to the Palestinian issue. It imagined that the Palestinian problem was a refugee problem which could be solved by resettling the Palestinian refugees in various parts of Palestine and the Arab world. After 1967, the Palestinian people began to assume their position among the world peoples, and the Palestinian issue became the central issue in the Arab-Israeli conflict. The United States should have dealt with

this development on the basis of a clear-cut visualization. Instead, it even stopped considering the Palestinian issue a refugee issue and viewed the Palestinians as people who encourage terrorism and who support a terrorist organization. This is what motivated Henry Kissinger, the then secretary of state, to establish preconditions for negotiating with the Palestinian people's representative (PLO) and this in turn led to freezing the U.S. role for more than 13 years (1975-88).

Concluding, Dr Jabbarin said: But Palestinian diplomacy and developments in the local and international situation have compelled the United States to reconsider its approach toward the Palestinian issue. Its latest decision has resulted in the possibility of its playing a central and reliable role on the path to finding a just and lasting solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict.

NBC Television Network Correspondent in Gaza:

Yes, the U.S. dialogue with the PLO is the positive way to find a comprehensive and just solution to the Palestinian issue. The United States has repeatedly tried to find an alternative to the PLO and the Palestinian leadership, but has failed.

Teacher Hasan Khayr-al-Din Abu-Sha'ban, Gaza:

The U.S. decision to recognize the PLO has evoked Palestinian, Arab, and international welcome and has dropped all the attempts to falsify the Palestinian people's will by creating alternatives. This decision to begin the U.S. dialogue with the PLO is a victory for the peaceful and realistic political course taken by the PLO as a reflection of the resolutions made by the PNC which convened in Algiers. Yasir 'Arafat, the PLO chairman, declared this course before the UN General Assembly in Geneva with utter sincerity, frankness, and clarity. The decision is also a positive consequence of the glorious Intifadah; of the support of the socialist bloc countries led by the Soviet Union; of the resolutions of the Arab summits in Rabat, Fez, and Algiers; of the support of the European Community countries, including the Scandinavian countries; of the African countries; of China in its capacity as one of the major powers; and of the support of the unofficial organizations which back the Palestinian people and which are concerned with the world peace issue, including the democratic and progressive organizations that reject the Israeli occupation. We know that we are opening our difficult path with a confidence and a reassurance that qualify us to achieve our national objectives. We are also aware that in this long procession, we will encounter attempts to drag us to the labyrinths of trickery, deception, and of various pressures by the United States and its followers in the area and by the radical rightist Israeli circles to lead us to a capitulationist solution based on self-rule or on the various liquidationist plans that were foiled by our people the moment they came into existence such as the peace-for-land plan in the Camp David accords which

were also stillborn. It is my opinion that our determination to reject separate solutions that seek to contain our will and that our insistence on accelerating the formation of a preparatory committee to pave the way for holding an effective UN-supervised international conference attended by the Security Council members and by all the states concerned, including Palestine, represented by the PLO, and by Israel as equals is the safety valve that enables us to knock at the doors of a just solution for the Palestinian and Israeli peoples after more than 40 years of war tragedies and of the futile destruction, devastation, dead, wounded, disabled, and mental disorders left behind by these wars. Therefore, our meeting with the U.S. side must be firm and committed to the peace of the brave and to our people's firm rights which are supported by international legitimacy and are clear to the seeing and the blind. We must be vigilant and must be wary of the labyrinths to which some may try to lead us. We are confident that through our difficult journey, we will achieve our desired goals of strengthening the unity of our forces at home and abroad, especially since we live under circumstances of relaxation in the two superpowers' relations and of sympathy for our cause among the world's states and peoples. We see the reflection of this relaxation in the termination of the Gulf war and in the attempt to solve the Afghanistan issue. Perhaps our Palestinian people's issue will crown this relaxation with withdrawal of the Israeli forces from the territories occupied in 1967 and with the replacement of these forces by UN forces for a transitional period prior to creation of the Palestinian state on Palestine's soil so that this state may exercise full sovereignty over its various institutions and utilities and so that the Palestinian and Israeli peoples and all the area's countries may coexist securely and peacefully.

Wafiq Zindah, businessman from Gaza:

The initiation of dialogue or negotiations between the PLO, which acts as the provisional government of the proclaimed independent state of Palestine, and the U.S. Administration has not come as a charity or a gift offered by the U.S. Administration to the PLO, the Palestinian people's sole legitimate representative, but as a result of several factors, the most important of which are:

1. The popular Palestinian Intifadah's role in the occupied territories and the accomplishments and objectives which this Intifadah has achieved—the latest accomplishment being the acceptance of Palestine as a state by the majority of the UN General Assembly members in Geneva.
2. The PNC resolutions and the Palestinian democracy achieved and embodied in these resolutions and recognition of the resolutions by most of the world's countries.
3. The vigilant Palestinian diplomatic campaign which has been aided by the friendly countries and by the world's peace-loving countries and the world's realization of the need to solve the Palestinian problem.

4. The international position which has taken all aspects of the Palestinian issue into consideration and the sympathy of all the world countries for the Palestinian people's demands and for their right to self-determination and to establish their independent state.

5. The international concord between the two superpowers to solve regional problems and, subsequently, its impact on the Palestinian issue.

6. The presence among the Israeli people of a large segment that supports peace, such as the progressive forces, plus the position of world Jewry, especially of U.S. Jews, on the Palestinian issue. All these factors combined to put Israel and the United States in the position of nonpeace-loving countries at a time when the entire world supports a just peace and a comprehensive solution to all aspects of the Palestinian issue.

As a result of these and other factors, the U.S. Administration has made the decision to open dialogue with the PLO as the Palestinian people's sole legitimate representative. As for the U.S. Administration making the decision as a maneuver, it is my belief, on the basis of the abovementioned factors, that this decision cannot be maneuver by a major power such as the United States.

As to what positive results will be achieved in terms of establishing a just peace and a comprehensive solution to the Palestinian issue, this depends on how sincere is the U.S. policy in the area.

However, the results depend on an international peace conference attended by all the permanent UN Security Council members and by the countries involved, including the PLO, as equals. Therefore, the results depend not just on the United States but on all the countries involved, be they the permanent Security Council members or Israel, the party occupying the Palestinian territories. The Palestinian people have offered all they have to offer without the presence of any positive signs in Israeli policy. Consequently, the ball is now in the U.S. and Israeli court, keeping in mind that the opportunity now available to solve the Palestinian problem may be an irreplaceable historic opportunity. Israel's leaders must rise to the level of the historic responsibility so that they may serve the cause of peace and justice for the area's peoples and the cause of world peace and security.

As'ad al-Safatawi, teacher from Gaza:

There is no doubt that the United States is a superpower. It is difficult for one to find that this country acts at times like a small country and that it abandons its responsibilities, especially the responsibilities connected with the objectives for which the United States was founded, meaning the objectives of protecting man's freedom and bolstering the law of right and justice. It is indubitable that in the recent decades, the United States has acted in disavowal of its humanitarian responsibilities, especially where the issue of the Palestinian-Israeli

conflict is concerned. While defending whatever is Israeli, the United States disavows whatever is Palestinian and totally forgets that peace in the area cannot be had by one people to the exclusion of the area's other peoples, especially the Palestinian people. However, the United States has realized—and we hope that its most recent transformation is sincere—that it became semi-isolated internationally when Shultz, its secretary of state, refused to give Palestinian leader Abu 'Ammar the chance to explain his cause to the world from atop the UN podium. Consequently, the United Nations decided unanimously to move to a place where the PLO chairman could speak. This was a civilized stance and every cultured man is proud of it and of the fact that there is still in this world, which has often oppressed us, a remnant that supports right. This stance embarrassed the United States and made it [look] petty in its assessment of affairs. Many of the countries and regimes supporting and following the United States and revolving in the sphere of its policy were compelled to abandon it and leave it isolated. There is no doubt that the final act taken by President Reagan is tantamount to the final scene in a dramatic play in which he sought to reserve for himself the role of the protagonist and to attract the lights as a past actor. But we, as Palestinians, have a strong desire for and attachment to peace for all the area's peoples. We hope that this position is true and sincere and that it signifies a change in the U.S. conduct toward our cause, the cause of justice and peace that has gained the trust and support of the entire world.

Hani Abu-Zayd, university graduate in Gaza:

The U.S. Administration's agreement to open dialogue with the PLO came in the wake of the Palestinian positions which Abu 'Ammar declared in Geneva, through which he was able to throw the ball into the U.S. court and in which he agreed to the Western projections for a solution to the Palestinian issue.

We should keep in mind that the international isolation in which the United States was placed by the courageous PLO diplomacy in the world—a diplomacy which has proven its ability to understand the new developments in the international arena—compelled the U.S. Administration, despite its prolonged stances of hostility toward the PLO, to initiate the dialogue with the PLO, especially in the wake of the declared and secret pressures put on this administration to make it modify its intransigence and rejection and to take more positive stances toward the PLO.

Therefore, I don't believe that the United States is engaging in a maneuver against our people through this dialogue because it has fully realized that the Palestinian people can be deceived by maneuvers and initiatives no longer. Through Shultz' shuttle trips, the United States repeatedly tried to foil the ongoing developments but failed to do so. It realizes that our people will not change their position unless they see a just and comprehensive solution to their problem. This is what Yasir 'Arafat

stressed in Geneva and what has been confirmed by the events that have taken place here in recent days (meaning after the start of the dialogue with the U.S. Administration).

This dialogue can be considered another success for the Palestinian diplomacy in international circles. In the observers' opinion, it is the beginning of a relaxation leading to a solution to the Palestinian issue. From this we realize that the coming days will entrench on real ground several issues, of which the most important are:

Implementing the initiative declared by Yasir 'Arafat in Geneva.

Forcing Israel to accept the fait accompli, especially since its position has been exposed to the international arena.

Paving the way for the new U.S. Administration to take courageous practical steps to put pressure on Israel to agree to the international conference so as to safeguard its security.

On the basis of all of the above, it can be said that 1989 will be the year of the Palestinian peace—a peace crowned with establishment of the Palestinian state next to Israel.

Usamah Muhammad Fulful, university graduate in Gaza:

We hope that initiation of the U.S.-PLO dialogue is a real step toward establishing a just and comprehensive peace in the Middle East. We are aware that through its decision, the United States sought to break the international isolation imposed on it by world public opinion which strongly condemned its refusal to grant PLO Chairman Yasir a visa to go to New York and address the United Nations. The U.S. dialogue with the Palestinian leadership was initiated as a result of the strong political proclamation made by the PNC in Algiers. Yasir 'Arafat clarified this proclamation in his address to the UN General Assembly in Geneva. The proclamation was welcomed by the international circles in the East and the West, except for Israel and the United States. The U.S. decision has eliminated a major obstacle facing U.S. policy in the Middle East. But we must understand well that it is very difficult to expect a fundamental transformation in U.S. policy. However, nobody expects immediate results.

Mahmud Muhammad Salihah, merchant in Gaza:

The U.S. decision to open dialogue with the PLO was not voluntary. The U.S. Administration was compelled to make it for the following reasons:

- Its awareness of its international isolation as a result of the resolution taken by the UN General Assembly by 154 votes to 2, namely the United States and

Israel, to let Yasir 'Arafat, who had been banned by the U.S. Administration from entering its territories, address it in Geneva.

- The historic address which 'Arafat delivered to the UN General Assembly in Geneva and which evoked the admiration of all countries.
- The U.S. Administration's apprehension that the events occurring here will extend to the countries of its Arab allies in the area.
- The negative consequences to the Israeli society—consequences reflected in the latest elections which produced the more radical and reactionary religious currents.
- The international community's conviction that the cause of the Palestinian people's self-determination is a just cause.

We do not find it unlikely that the U.S. Administration will engage in maneuvers in its dialogue with the PLO because it is not that easy for the United States to abandon its Middle East interests which are protected by Israel, its strategic ally. It is in the U.S. interest to keep Israel strong. But because of the current international conditions which are based on settling international problems peacefully and because of the Palestinian people's determination to continue their Intifadah and to achieve their national rights by establishing their independent state, the U.S. Administration's maneuvering will fail and the Palestinian people will achieve their national hopes and aspirations and will gain their freedom.

Yusuf Abu-Zayd, merchant in Gaza:

The turning of a new page in the U.S.-Palestinian relations—a page which started with the first meeting between the two sides on 16 December 1988—has its causes and its consequences. To realize how positively or negatively relations will proceed, we see that:

- First, the struggle of our Palestinian people wherever they are, especially the struggle represented in what is happening on their national soil, has shortened the path and created an international reality embodied in the awareness of their right to determine their future on their land and in their country. This reality is also embodied in ending the idea in the minds of numerous segments of Israeli society of expanding slowly, of removing the Palestinian people from their land, and of seizing this land in the long run through the so-called policy of building settlements in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.
- Second, a few years ago, the end of an extremely important era of U.S. economic control over West Europe through the U.S. Marshall plan, which was launched in the wake of World War II, began. Numerous West European countries have been completely liberated from U.S. economic control, especially from U.S. industrial (domination). Some of these countries have even begun to take the lead from the United States in the world's industrial market. Moreover, the West Europeans, with their remarkable cultural

progress in all spheres, have begun to rally and unite to establish the nucleus of the economically, politically, militarily, and financially new and mighty world power which will be known as the European united states.

- Third, the Soviet Union, as a major power, has developed its methods of tackling internal and external affairs and is preparing to put itself in the new and right position for the next 2 or 3 decades. This is why it has established the policy of detente with the United States in numerous parts of the world, most importantly in West Europe where the United States has a big military presence. Hence the nuclear arms-limitation initiatives, the withdrawals of missiles, the reduction of forces, and so forth.
- Fourth, the U.S. Administration fears that continuation of the Palestinian Intifadah will generate grave consequences in the Arab world—the major part of which is pro-U.S.—and especially in Egypt through an uprising staged by the Egyptian masses to upturn the balances. What happened in Jordan's al-Yarmuk University Campus in support of the Intifadah on occasion of its first anniversary has indicated the presence of this tendency. There is also Saudi Arabia's purchase of Chinese missiles without U.S. knowledge. On the other hand, the United States will, according to its experts, rely increasingly on imported oil in the coming years. Let us also not forget the Arab markets consuming U.S. products.

For the above reasons, we believe that what is happening here, as well as the U.S. economic and strategic interests and the enormous international pressures put on the United States, forced the United States into its dialogue with the legitimate Palestinian leadership. This dialogue is aimed at achieving the desired objectives of solving the Palestinian problem at the present time, especially since Palestinian concessions made in coordination with the influential Arab leaderships loyal to the United States are proportionately compatible with the requirements of the U.S. international and Middle East strategy and with preserving the future U.S. influence in our area.

Unemployment Among Returning Expatriates Discussed

*44040131 Jerusalem AL-BAYADIR AL-SIYASI
in Arabic 19 Nov 88 p 24*

[Article by Nazir Takruri al-Tamimi: "Crossing Point: Job Opportunities, a Problem Looking for a Solution!"]

[Text] If we continually wonder about rising unemployment, especially among the multitudes of college and other graduates, another urgent question that has not received its share of discussion and thorough examination presents itself concerning the status of old graduates, some of whom graduated almost 20 years ago. A large number of those had the opportunity to work in various Arab Gulf countries.

A few years ago, more and more people working abroad began losing their jobs, and the only option they had was to return to their families and homeland after spending the best years of their youth in the service of various work sectors in Gulf countries. Some of them returned to the West Bank while others stayed in Jordan because they failed to obtain what after the occupation became known as the "Family Reunion Document!"

Barely 1 year after returning home, these expatriates exhaust their modest hard-earned savings on settling expenses such as buying or renting an apartment, buying furniture, and various other living expenses.

Ever since they returned home, expatriates have been looking for jobs amid this stifling unemployment crisis. They look and look but to no avail. One of them who joined the ranks of unemployed new graduates looking for a job could not find a single job opportunity a graduate could accept.

While we constantly advise and urge new graduates to work at various jobs instead of restricting themselves to the "mummified" social concept of confining college graduates to desk jobs, if this is what we constantly tell them, can a person who graduated 20 or more years ago be asked to work at any job outside his area of specialization in which he spent his youth working?! Can we ask him to work in trade, agriculture, or smithcraft or to be a fruit and vegetable peddler hawking "Hebron grapes," "home-grown tomatoes," "Jericho bananas," and so forth? Can we ask him to do that when he is approaching the age of 50 and has a whole family to support? This is another major problem facing our society, in the occupied territories in particular where all kinds of hardships are faced every day.

While providing job opportunities for unemployed new graduates is primarily a national responsibility, the responsibility of providing a decent life for old graduates returning from Arab Gulf countries must be extensively and effectively shared by those same countries by keeping these employees at the top of the job until they reach the retirement age whereupon they are given the choice of accepting a lump sum severance payment or a lifetime annuity. Such a system embodies the meaning of pan-Arab sensibilities and the feeling that a certain state is truly exercising "sincere brotherliness" in the fullest sense of the word.

Such treatment and procedures represent a national and pan-Arab necessity dictated by all the values and bonds that bind us together as one Arab nation, especially since our society and our people here at this time in particular are living under tragic and extremely difficult conditions.

Before leaving Palestine and with all the treachery, oppression, and tyranny it represented, the British Mandate used to pay annuities to people who worked under

it. Subsequent British governments kept up such payments to living annuitants. We would not want the Gulf countries to be any less responsible than Great Britain in this regard.

The problem still exists and indeed is growing worse as the years pass, both for the multitudes of new graduates and for old graduates returning home from abroad. Articles and slogans will not solve this problem.

The only hope for solving this and indeed other compelling problems is "relief from God," by ending the occupation and everything it represents, and the awakening of the Arab conscience before God decides to test the Arab nation the same way He has been testing us.

ALGERIA

Annaba Assembly Meeting Focuses on Agricultural Development

45190029b Algiers EL MOUDJAHID in French
13 Dec 88 p 9

[Text] (APS)—The Annaba APW [Governorate Popular Assembly] recently examined four important dossiers during its third session of 1988.

Those dossiers, which were debated at length, concerned the governorate's initial budget for 1989, an evaluation of the progress made in reorganizing the state-owned agricultural sector, an examination of the situation in the basic infrastructures, and an evaluation of the preceding school reopening.

During its meeting, the APW approved the governorate's initial draft budget for 1989 at a total of 132,949,662.00 dinars, with 44 percent being earmarked for operations and 56 percent for equipment and investment. The budget includes 1.5 million dinars for financing certain projects. The report presented by the APW during its meeting stresses the need to implement the austerity policy and also to respect the priorities adopted in favor of development of the rural zones.

In that context, the head of the governorate's executive body laid down guidelines in which he stressed the need to achieve complementarity between the efforts of the national government and those of the governorate which are aimed primarily at promoting the development of the rural world.

Concerning the dossier on agriculture, the APW's report says that reorganization of the DAS's [expansion unknown] affected 50 farms, with 21,457 hectares being distributed among 1,190 beneficiaries.

The APW's report reveals that in addition to the drought's negative effect on crop yields, difficulties exist on certain farms whose restructuring will have to be reconsidered.

The APW concluded its meeting by evaluating the resumption of school and university classes and then examining the matter of the road network, which comprises 885 kilometers of national highways and governorate, communal, and rural roads.

Sociologists, Economists Union Supports Expansion

45190029a Algiers *EL MOUDJAHID* in French
28 Dec 88 p 7

[Text] Abderrazak Bouhara, executive secretary of the FLN Central Committee in charge of people's organizations and development, presided Monday over the closing of the regular meeting by the steering committee of the Union of Algerian Sociologists and Economists. In attendance was Abdallah Nadir Benmaati, secretary general of the union and minister of construction and urbanism.

On that occasion, Bouhara laid down guidelines, thus emphasizing the important role played by unions in enriching the country's political, economic, and social life, especially in connection with the extensive reforms now being experienced by society. He also called upon the members of the steering committee and governorate sections to continue their efforts and to consolidate the union's achievements.

The items included on the agenda and discussed included in particular:

1. The election of El Okbi Habba as the new secretary general in a democratic climate in which anyone was free to be a candidate and voting was by secret ballot.
2. Examination and adoption of the union's activity report for 1983-1988. We note that the period in question was one of productive and intense activity involving a high proportion of national cadres.
3. Examination of the preparations for the union's third congress and of measures aimed at ensuring its success.

For the most part, the speakers stressed the need to strengthen the union by expanding its membership, to intensify scientific activities, and to make the union known in the various sectors: economic enterprises, universities, and so on.

They also drew attention to the lack of union offices in certain governorates—a problem requiring that steps be taken.

They concluded by stressing the importance of making sure to create the objective conditions for implementing the union's action program.

BAHRAIN

Bahrain Stock Market Discussed

44000244e Manama *GULF DAILY NEWS* in English
2 Jan 89 p 11

[Text] Manama—Bahrain's long-awaited stock exchange could be up and running by March.

Share dealing could start "possibly in the first quarter of 1989," said stock exchange adviser Dr Fawzi Bahzad.

The island stockmarket was originally due to be launched last October, but preparations have taken longer than expected.

Commerce Minister Habib Qasim has now approved the rules governing its operation.

A total of 21 wholly Bahraini-owned companies and seven joint venture firms will have their shares quoted on the exchange.

GCC nationals will be able to hold up to 46 percent of the shares of joint venture companies.

The stock exchange rules say it will be used to play a positive role in Bahrain's economic development.

It is also planned to expand it into a regional and international market, listing non-Bahraini companies.

Links will be established with other major exchanges and dealers will have to have minimum capital of BD100,000 according to the rules.

Trade Restricted to Bahraini Nationals

44000244f Manama *GULF DAILY NEWS* in English
4 Jan 89 p 1

[Article by Soman Baby: "Forge Bahraini Ties or Shut, Firms Told"]

[Text] More than 300 companies and traders on the island must find Bahraini partners before May or be closed down.

Some have been in Bahrain for more than 100 years.

The Commerce Ministry is sending new circulars to firms operating without Bahraini partners, granting them a last grace period to change their status, under an Amiri Decree of 1987.

The decree restricts trading activities to Bahrainis and companies in which a minimum of 51 percent of the shares are owned by Bahrainis.

'Alawi al-Musawi, chief of companies affairs at the Commerce Ministry, said 364 firms had no Bahraini partners.

Registrations of 22 had been cancelled after they failed to renew them for many years and 12 of them were included under special categories.

Jewellery

"Out of the remaining 330, some 25 have recently found Bahraini partners, some of them by virtue of marrying Bahrainis," said Mr al-Musawi.

He said the remaining firms should make an official application to the Directorate of Commerce and Companies Affairs to add the names of their Bahraini partners and change the management and legal status of their establishments.

"An earlier circular had urged the companies to comply with the regulations before 1989 beginning.

The new grace period till May will not be extended under any circumstances," said Mr al-Musawi.

The companies without Bahraini partners are those operating on the island before the registry of commerce law was implemented in 1961.

A number of them are Indian, Pakistani and Iranian firms trading in jewellery, textiles, consumer goods and food items.

Others include tailors, barbers and goldsmiths.

Jasim al-Shatti, secretary general of the Chamber of Commerce, welcomed the government move and said it was extremely important to have a Bahraini partner for any firm which wanted to continue as a local company.

"The move is especially significant when Bahrain's economy is picking up," said Mr al-Shatti.

"When the Commerce Ministry cancels the registration of any firm, its membership in the chamber will also be automatically cancelled."

EGYPT

Cabinet Briefed on Foreign, Domestic Policy

NC0301165089 Cairo MENA in Arabic
1557 GMT 3 Jan 89

[Excerpts] Prime Minister Dr 'Atif Sidqi chaired a cabinet meeting today during which Dr 'Isamat 'Abd-al-Majid, deputy prime minister and foreign minister, submitted a comprehensive foreign policy report. This disclosure was made by Information Minister Safwat al-Sharif, who added that 'Abd-al-Majid had noted the great effect of President Muhammad Husni Mubarak's broad vision of international relations, as well as the effect of the president's contacts and relations with heads of state, which

contributed to a successful and distinguished foreign policy and enabled Egyptian diplomacy to achieve numerous successes in 1988. [Passage omitted]

With regard to the domestic situation, the information minister revealed that the interior minister had reviewed the efforts by the police authorities to preserve security and to confront attempts by certain extremists who resort to violence as a means to terrify society and control the citizens. The interior minister had briefed the cabinet on the events which have taken place over the past few weeks; the seizure of arms, ammunition, and explosive charges from the extremists; the martyrdom of six policemen and officers and the injury of a number of others; and the arrest of certain elements who had received training outside the country and had subsequently entered Egypt with the intention of assaulting places of worship. The interior minister asserted that the security authorities are vigilant, within the framework of the security authorities' adherence to legitimacy and respect for judicial rulings and the rule of law, in containing extremism, confronting the extremists, and foiling their attempts to incite certain segments of society with a view to shaking stability.

The information minister added that the interior minister had also reviewed the efforts being exerted to supervise the markets. Seven thousand nine hundred fourteen supply cases had been filed and 1,500 tons of smuggled consumer goods had been confiscated in November. The interior minister also had disclosed that 731 drug cases had been filed, 1,027 weapons had been seized, and 467 cases of assault on agricultural land had been filed. [passage omitted]

The information minister pointed out that the Planning Ministry's report to the Cabinet stated that 11 million tons of crude oil had been produced from July to September 1988, representing 25 percent of the production objective for the entire year. It also was noted that 23 percent of the planned output of natural gas for the year also had been produced. [passage omitted]

The information minister said that the cabinet agreed to pay Egypt's share of \$18 million to the Arab Development Fund, which accumulated during Egypt's separation from the Fund.

Party Influences Allegedly Cause Lawyers' Syndicate Clashes

45040181 Cairo AL-AHRAM AL-DUWALI in Arabic
26 Jan 89 p 6

[Article by Muhammad Yusuf al-Misri; "Story of Sad Week at Lawyers Union; Dr 'Asfur: 19 January Incidents Are Reflection of Lawyers' Will; al-Khawajah Stresses They Are Incidents Hatched by His Wafdist Adversaries"]

[Text] What happened at the Lawyers' Union beginning last Thursday, and how legitimate is it? Who determines this legitimacy, and is what happened a reflection of the

Lawyers Union membership's will, as stated by Dr Muhammad 'Asfur, the chairman of the provisional committee elected by the union's special general assembly which has convened and announced its resolutions? Or does it reflect some sort of partisan incidents and disagreements for which the Lawyers Union was chosen to settle accounts totally unrelated to the union? Is it that the union's conventional disagreements have been exploited to settle these accounts?

Why didn't the police intervene before Monday in those incidents which started last Thursday? What was the position of the party leaders toward the Lawyers Union incidents as of the time the incidents started last Thursday and until the police arrested those staging a sit-in strike inside the union premises last Monday when Ahmad al-Khawajah announced the holding of new elections?

AL-AHRAM AL-DUWALI was there all the time and interviewed the various circles and parties to record the story of the sad week in the Lawyers Union.

Speed and Surprise

The incidents which started at the Lawyers Union last Thursday were characterized by speed and surprise. At the beginning of the week, an invitation was issued from outside the union's legitimate council for the convocation of a special general assembly. It was then promptly announced that the assembly had adopted a number of resolutions, led by a resolution to dismiss the union council and to replace it with a provisional committee headed by Dr Muhammad 'Asfur, with Dr Muhammad Hilmi Murad as its deputy chairman and lawyers Ahmad Nasir, Muhammad Fahim Amin, Mawahib al-Shurbaji, and others as members.

The provisional committee members proceeded to immediately occupy the union premises and to control its offices. Union Chairman Ahmad al-Khawajah was forced to leave the union. The following day, he proceeded to manage the union from his private office. Meanwhile, the union premises were swarmed by more than 1,000 lawyers. It cannot be said that all those lawyers were opponents of al-Khawajah's union because one could hear cheers and countercheers being voiced.

But Dr Muhammad 'Asfur's supporters then managed to gain full control of the union premises. They closed the union doors in the face of their opponents before Dr 'Asfur held a press conference on Sunday in which he promised to provide numerous services to union members. He also announced the committee's resolutions to open the doors of nomination to new union elections as of the final week of the coming month of February.

In his press conference last Sunday, Dr Muhammad 'Asfur tried to stress repeatedly that the neo-Wafd Party has no connection with the union incidents which he emphatically characterized as pure union developments

that reflect the will of the lawyers, of whom nearly 300 were present on that day and some of whom shouted slogans hostile to Ahmad al-Khawajah.

Dr 'Asfur also said that he would not be responsible for what may happen to al-Khawajah if the latter tried to go to the union on the following day (last Monday). Al-Khawajah had scheduled a counter press conference for that day.

Violent Battle

But the developments did not end at this point. On the dawn of Monday, al-Khawajah sent some of his supporters to try to regain the union premises and to oust the lawyers who had been sleeping at the premises, led by Ahmad Nasir. However, a violent battle broke out between the two factions and some firearms were used in it, resulting in the wounding of a citizen who happened to be passing by at that early hour on a Cairo winter day.

The police then promptly intervened for the first time since the outbreak of the incidents. Major General Mahmud Sha'rawi, the first assistant minister of interior, organized a blockade around the union premises and shut its doors from within. 'Abd-al-Khaliq Tharwat Street was also blocked completely, except to public security, criminal investigation, and state and central security men.

Maj Gen Mahir Hasan, the Cairo police commissioner, has said that the police were not late in intervening and that they would not have intervened in the union disputes, but the wounding of a citizen by rounds fired from within the union hall made it permissible for the police to intervene to protect people's and the lawyers' lives.

At the same time, the police agreed to have lawyer 'Abd-al-Ghaffar Rizqanah act as a negotiator with the lawyers staging a sit-in strike inside the union hall under the leadership of Ahmad Nasir to persuade them to leave quietly. But Ahmad Nasir refused to negotiate on the grounds that there is no justification for police presence in disputes occurring between lawyers.

While the police forces were blockading the Lawyers Union last Monday, groups of lawyers supporting each side moved to the Higher Judiciary Court which is adjacent to the union premises, taking their verbal arguments and battles with them. The arguments intensified when union chairman Ahmad al-Khawajah arrived and started to talk about his adherence to legitimacy and about the need to respect it.

Maj Gen Mahir Hasan, the Cairo police commissioner, has said that the objective of blockading the union hall was to carry out the orders the attorney general issued for the arrest of those who were inside the union after bullets were fired from within, wounding a citizen.

But What Are Causes?

Apart from this aspect of the issue, a question is raised regarding the causes motivating the convocation of a special Lawyers' Union general assembly. What are these causes?

According to Dr Muhammad 'Asfur, the provisional committee chairman, the most important causes are the resolutions taken by the union's General Assembly on 25 November 1988 or, as Dr 'Asfur has said, the resolutions that are attributed to this assembly and that call on the one hand for raising the fees which lawyers pay to the courts, and on the other hand for establishing a Lawyers Union branch in the city of Cairo.

Dr 'Asfur added to these causes his statement that the lawyers wish to investigate the fate of 14 million pounds which the union deposited with the Businessmen's Bank which is about to go bankrupt and to also have the control and audit agencies investigate other financial and administrative violations. Why This Timing?

But why was this particular time chosen to call for convening a Lawyers Union special general assembly and to subsequently adopt the resolutions which abolished the union council? Does this have any connection with convocation of the neo-Wafd Party's General Assembly 2 weeks ago when the members of the Higher Wafd Committee were chosen? Is it connected with Ahmad al-Khawajah's ouster from the party's General Assembly prior to its convocation? Is it connected with the intensifying disagreements between Ahmad al-Khawajah on the one hand and the Wafdist leadership and its aides on the other, considering that rumors have been spreading and that previously-closed dossiers have been reopened, including the dossier read by the party chairman about one of his aide's relations with one of the new embassies in Cairo? Moreover, is it a coincidence that the protagonists of these incidents are members of the new Wafdist committee?

Casting aside these observations, whose presence and occurrence he did acknowledge in his press conference, Dr Muhammad 'Asfur went on to say that the timing has nothing to do with al-Wafd Party's disagreements and that it was a result of interaction with the lawyers' will.

Hilmi Murad's Surprise

We now come to another surprise sprung by Dr Hilmi Murad. They announced that he is the provisional committee's deputy chairman. But Dr Murad has refused to take part in the committee or to be its deputy chairman.

Dr Murad has said that when Dr 'Asfur asked him to take part in the provisional committee, he made it conditional that Dr 'Asfur first provide him with a copy of the various legal steps taken in convening the special general assembly so that he, Dr Murad, may verify the degree of their legality.

Dr Murad has further said that he was compelled to decline to participate in the provisional committee when Dr 'Asfur failed to supply him with a copy of the steps, adding: It was impossible for me to stand on baseless grounds that make the participants an object of ridicule.

Responding to Dr Hilmi Murad's statements, Dr 'Asfur has said: What Dr Murad demanded meant casting doubt on the steps which were taken and which can be judged only by one authority, namely the Appeals Court.

Al-Khawajah Abandons Silence

Dr Ahmad al-Khawajah, the union chairman against whom the rebellion has been staged, characterized the incidents as a successive chain of forgery crimes perpetrated in the Lawyers Union to settle partisan accounts.

He has said that no assembly had met and no special assembly had been convened and that this is a mere allegation. Consequently, he has denied that any resolutions had been adopted by such an assembly because it did not meet in the first place.

Dr al-Khawajah also said that he has notified the attorney general of the attacks made against him and against the union and has stressed for the first time that what has happened had been preplanned and that the alleged resolutions are trumped up. He has also noted that in the elections he got 8,484 votes, exceeding the second highest candidates by 7,000 votes. He has further said that the statements made by Dr Muhammad 'Asfur show that he was being instructed and that he was saying what he was instructed to say by the perpetrators.

Wondering, al-Khawajah has asked: The union's normal elections are scheduled for next April, so why haven't those who claim to be reflecting the lawyers' will waited for the arrival of this date?

He has also said that the union council is comprised of 22 members, of whom only 2 members, namely Ahmad Nasir and Muhammad Fahmi Amin, have broken away and that both have been elected to the new Wafdist Higher Committee.

He also clarified the true nature of what is rumored about Dr Nu'man Jum'ah in his capacity as the Israeli Embassy's attorney and legal adviser. Dr al-Khawajah has said that Muhammad Fahim Amin revealed this information to a number of lawyers when he had a disagreement with the Wafdists in 1974, adding: But now that the positions have been upturned, Amin is denying this.

[Boxed Item] [Article by Ahmad al-Batriq: "Parties Demand That Unions Be Kept Clear Of Partisan Settlement of Accounts"]

[Text] The Egyptian political parties, excluding the al-Wafd Party, have denounced the incidents which took place in the Lawyers Union last week and their leaderships have said that the union must be kept clear of partisan conflicts and disagreements, especially since the Lawyers Union is one of the most deep-rooted Egyptian unions, not to mention its historical role in defending liberties, the Constitution, and the laws.

To begin, Mustafa Kamil Murad, the Liberal Party chairman, has said that the presence of some disagreements in the Lawyers Union, whether over the way the union is managed or over the way its bylaws are implemented, is normal. But what is strange is for the disagreements to reach the point where everybody loses control. These disagreements should have been settled or delayed, especially since only a few weeks remain before the union's next election when the various currents can run for election to the union council.

Mustafa Murad stressed that there are partisan currents that have played a role in intensifying the union situation and have led to the eruption of some acts of violence, adding that his party, the Liberal Party, condemns these acts and hopes that tranquillity and stability will be restored to the Lawyers Union.

In the Labor Party, Ahmad Mujahid, the party deputy chairman, has noted that his party condemns all the actions and incidents that took place at the Lawyers Union and denounces the acts of violence which emanated from the disagreements, causing some innocent bystander to be wounded by shots fired by the adversaries within the union.

The Labor Party deputy chairman characterized the incidents as regrettable and stressed the need to safeguard legitimacy, adding that Dr Muhammad Hilmi Murad's refusal to take up the position to which he was assigned by the provisional committee reflects the degree of his political awareness. The deputy chairman also stressed the need to steer parties clear of intervention in the union's affairs and of endeavors to drag the union into the partisan arena.

In the al-Wafd Party, Dr Ibrahim al-Dasuqi Abazah, the party assistant secretary general, noted that the Lawyers Union battle has reflected on the party by virtue of the fact that numerous Wafdist leaders are on the union leadership list. He justified the incidents, saying that adversaries are entitled to strike the opponent's leadership positions, provided that the weapons used in the struggle are clean weapons, especially since numerous Wafdist lawyers do not wish to engage in Ahmad al-Khawajah's partisan escalation. Al-Wafd assistant secretary general added that what is important is that the party have an opinion in selection of the unionist leaderships.

The National Party was the first political party to issue a statement denouncing the incidents. In its statement,

this party expressed its regret that matters had reached this point and demanded that all parties concerned adhere to the unionist legitimacy approved by the laws and regulations.

Counselor al-Damardash al-'Uqali expressed surprise at the incidents, especially since they emanated from a union concerned with thought, policy, and liberties. He linked these incidents to convocation of the general assemblies of certain parties. He also deplored the transformation of dialogue between the parties concerned from a verbal dialogue to a physical confrontation which led, as he put it, to a real tragedy.

The Grouping Party took the opportunity to issue a statement in the name of the Socialist Leftist Front, which includes lawyers from the Grouping and from the Nasirist and communist currents, in which it stressed the presence of some questions concerning union chairman Ahmad al-Khawajah. However, the Grouping denounced the incidents which it characterized as bloody and demanded that new Lawyers Union elections be held.

Ahmad Nabil al-Hilali, a Marxist lawyer, had frozen his membership in the Lawyers Union Council in protest of the announcement of resolutions that split the Cairo union and that raise the fees charged by the courts to lawyers for all kinds of cases.

Cairo Seminar Views Terrorism, Violence
PM2501121289 Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic
17 Jan 89 p 4

[Mahmud Ibrahim report: "Thinkers and Politicians of All Leanings Urge Dialogue and Freedom"]

[Excerpts] Participants in the seminar on social peace and the renunciation of violence, held at the Doctors' Union last Thursday, have urged the need to condemn the arbitrary arrest and torture of citizens. They also urged the immediate release of detainees and the suspension of the emergency law for a period of 6 months, after which the need for its reintroduction can be considered. Furthermore, they demanded that the chief of state not be affiliated to any party. They stressed the freedom to establish parties and publish papers. They also urged the need to form a permanent committee comprising all tendencies to meet with the chief of state and officials to discuss the various issues. This, in addition to a committee comprising sociologists, representatives of various opinions, and intellectuals was in order to define policies the Interior Ministry should pursue in handling the incidents.

The seminar—the second in a series of attempts to discuss the phenomenon of terrorism and violence and find a way out of our present crisis—was attended by a large group of people representing all political and intellectual tendencies and trends, foremost among whom were Labor Party leader Ibrahim Shukri, Shaykh

Muhammad al-Ghazali, Liberal Party leader Mustafa Kamil Murad, People's Assembly member al-Ma'mun al-Hudaybi (Brotherhood), physicians leader Dr Mahmud Jabr, journalist Ahmad Baha'al-Din, and Labor Party Higher Committee members Dr Sayyid Dusuqi and Dr Salah 'Abd-al-Muta'al, as well as a number of leading physicians and dentists and representatives of various political tendencies. The seminar was also attended by the leader of Cairo University's student union as well as Major General Baha'al-Din Ibrahim, first assistant interior minister. [passage omitted]

Labor Party leader Ibrahim Shukri said: "The violence now prevailing in our society, whose danger we all sense and which has become clear in people's attitudes, is not to do with religious extremism alone, since it has become a clear characteristic of relations within the one family as well as of those between neighbors and between young people." Shukri added: "If anything, these phenomena prove that society has a disease which we must promptly remedy. In my opinion, the remedy will come not from below but, rather, from the top, namely, from officials in all positions, including people's representatives such as ministers and the chief of state." [passage omitted]

Shaykh Muhammad al-Ghazali spoke next. He emphasized that the extremism of some people's attitude is attributable to the absence of a rational, moderate religious tendency and the absence of so-called human rights in our contemporary world. He emphasized that there should be no fear of differing views. He said that there must be guarantees for dialogue in order to define concepts accurately and explain viewpoints honestly so that such a dialogue can bear fruit. He went on to say: "Islam abhors treachery, plagiarism, and slander." Concluding his address, Shaykh al-Ghazali stressed the need to for reasoned decisions and prudent action, as well as the need to provide freedom for all people.

People's Assembly member al-Ma'mun al-Hudaybi (Brotherhood) said: "Freedom is the principal asset and there can be no dignity for the people without it. In fact, no people can be productive or creative without enjoying sufficient freedom to enable them to build. With regard to the freedom we experience, al-Hudaybi said: "There is a certain freedom within which we work and to which we adhere. But it is one of our rights. We demand that this right be maintained and not to be linked to the will of any individual, even that of the president of the Republic. We must all die, but state affairs must not be linked to a particular individual. We stress the need to expand freedoms." With regard to the excesses committed in the name of religion, Al-Hudaybi said: "We do not deny that there are those who violate religion in the name of religion and who violate freedom in the name of freedom. But the authorities must deal with these excesses within the framework of the law, not by violating the law. When individuals break the law the state questions them, but who can question the state?"

Liberal Party leader Mustafa Kamil Murad said: "The phenomenon of violence is attributable to the poverty suffered by young people. Some 60 percent of our university students live under the poverty line. In my view, the remedy is to improve the financial position of university students." He added: "One of the reasons for the phenomenon of violence is the political vacuum which exists among young people as a result of the laws restricting freedoms. He urged the need to give the parties the opportunity to play their own role in order to maintain a dialogue with young people and deal with their problems to determine the remedy required."

Then Maj Gen Baha'al-Din Ibrahim, first assistant interior minister, spoke. He defended the Interior Ministry's policies, arrests, and excesses. He said: "When we implement the law, we do so decisively and as the situation dictates. We make arrests as prompted by events. When an incident takes place, we refer to the information we have on the Islamic groups. Then we arrest 300 or 400 people in order to identify one or two individuals. There is no alternative to that procedure, which we carry out at midnight in order to deter Islamic group members contemplating certain acts. The 400 detainees include those who committed acts and those who intended to commit acts." He added: "Prosecutor's office representatives usually release those referred to them. So detention is a means of overcoming the release procedures taken by prosecutor office representatives!"

Zaki Badr's assistant defended the interior minister by saying: "The problem is not to do with violence generating violence. And before you ask about Zaki Badr's excesses, ask about the attitudes of his predecessors." He added: "There is no alternative to the violence practiced by the Interior Ministry. Other means are futile with those who violate the law." The assistant interior minister admitted that the violence used by security men exceeds legal limits. Concluding his speech, he emphasized that if the true religion prevails, 75 percent of Interior Ministry efforts would be spared, for conscientiousness is stronger than police control. [passage omitted]

Then the prominent writer Ahmad Baha'al-Din delivered a short speech. He said: "If we refer to Islamic history we will find that it flourished when reason prevailed. Reason must go hand in hand with freedom in order to improve people's conditions. No society can advance without constructive dialogue." Concluding his speech, Baha'al-Din urged the need to continue the dialogue by means of similar seminars. [passage omitted]

Petroleum Minister on Butane Gas Production
JN0901211589 Cairo AL-JUMHURIYAH in Arabic
7 Jan 89 pp 1, 2

[Excerpt] Chemist 'Abd-al-Hadi Muhammad Qandil, minister of petroleum and mineral resources, has announced that Egypt will export butane gas for the first time ever. As of yesterday, the production of the Bala'im

oil field increased to 220 tons compared to 70 tons, and that the production of the accompanying gases has risen to 33 million cubic feet per day, compared to 23 million cubic feet per day. [passage omitted]

Suez Oil Company Announces Production Rates
45000097 Cairo AL-AKHBAR in Arabic 9 Jan 89 p 1

[Report by Khalid Jabr]

[Text] Minister of Petroleum and Mineral Wealth 'Abd-al-Hadi Qandil has announced that three new wells have been dug in the fields of the Gulf of Suez Petroleum Company with a production of 10,000 BPD. The petroleum minister requested periodic inspection and maintenance of old oil fields so that they might continue their efficient production.

Engineer Raja Farhat, president of the company, said that the Ra's Badran field's production is 48,000 BPD from 18 wells. He also said they had dealt with the sediments that had been blocking the wells' production. Production of the Khalij al-Zayt field has reached 51,000 BPD after two new wells were dug, increasing the number of producing wells to 30. Production of the Ra's Fannar field has reached 17,000 BPD after a new well was dug, for a total of six producing wells.

General Director of Operations Midhat Hatatah added that the production of the company's fields has gone up to 116,000 BPD and will increase 10 percent in March as a result of continuing maintenance of old wells and the addition of new ones.

Al-Jihad Students Attack Muslim Brotherhood Students in Sawhaj

45040142 Cairo AL-MUSAWWAR in Arabic
8 Dec 88 pp 12-15

[Article by 'Abd-al-Mun'im al-Jidawi]

[Text] What happened in Sawhaj University? What did students do to their fellow students?

What happened in Sawhaj University sent three Muslim Brothers to the hospital where they underwent emergency surgery on their heads, necks, and hands. The same incidents sent al-Jihad's imam to jail where he awaits a decision from the district attorney. The imam was accused by one of the men who were injured in the incidents. The injured man said that the imam had given orders that the mosque be locked so that no one would be able to flee from "the massacre of the Mamelukes," and then he hit him with a chain as he [the imam] exclaimed, "God is Great."

Those who have been watching events at the university said they were stunned last Saturday after the noon prayer service when screams and cries for help mixed with exclamations that "God is Great" were heard coming out of the small mosque in the middle of

campus. When they went to the mosque, they were alarmed to discover that it was locked. An irrational, heated battle was going on inside, and people around the mosque were fleeing the scene, exclaiming that al-Jihad and the Muslim Brotherhood were engaged in a scuffle. The people said that the door had been locked so that each team could finish off the other. They said that those inside the mosque had started exclaiming and cheering, "God is Great."

Without any interference from outside the mosque a few Muslim Brothers, motivated by the severity of the beatings and their love of life, managed to unlock the door. Jad al-Nuzhi, a student, said that he managed to unlock the door because he was quite certain that he would be a dead man if he didn't. That is why in spite of his many wounds and injuries, he crawled and unlocked the door. By then, the guards who had arrived on the scene were trying to get the situation under control. After an intense effort they managed to get the injured out of the mosque, and the injured were then taken by the university's ambulance to the hospital. Those who had the most injuries were Jad al-Nuzhi, a student in the College of Commerce; Mahmud 'Abdallah al-Najjar, from the College of Commerce; and Nabil Muhammad Khadri, also from the College of Commerce. All of them are members of the Muslim Brotherhood. Also among the injured were Muhammad 'Abd-al-'Aziz Sulayman, the College of Commerce; Muhammad Sami 'Abd-al-Mutallib, the College of Commerce; and Muhammad Musa, the College of Education. These students who had minor injuries for which they were treated in the hospital and released are members of al-Jihad group. The first three, however, were hospitalized.

The district attorney took Jad al-Nuzhi's statement in which Mr al-Nuzhi said that he was attacked by Mahmud Taha, al-Jihad's imam. Mr al-Nuzhi said that Mr Taha, who attacked him with chains, wanted to address the worshippers after the prayer service, but the Muslim Brothers' group refused to listen, and they turned around to leave the mosque after the prayer service. The imam, who considered their action an unforgivable insult, exclaimed, "God is Great," and after that exclamation the door to the mosque was locked. Then the chains which some of them had wrapped around themselves were produced, and they started hitting the Muslim Brothers on their heads with those chains. All the cleaning tools used in the mosque, that is brooms and buckets, were used in the battle. That is why the district attorney arrested Mahmud Taha to question him about the charges that were made against him.

'Uthman's Shirt in Sawhaj University

As a result of all that, the Muslim Brothers were angry because of the injuries their leaders had sustained. They got the bloodstained shirt which Jad al-Nuzhi was wearing when he was injured, and they also got Mahmud 'Abdallah al-Najjar's shirt. Then they went around the

campus carrying these shirts, mingling with the students and chanting, "Oh God, favor us and protect us from the chains."

And yet, the question that must be asked is this: Did all this happen suddenly without any preliminaries, or was this incident tantamount to a drop of oil that fell over smoldering embers? Speaking for the Muslim Brotherhood, Jad al-Nuzhi says, "The al-Jihad group and their supporters and followers use the name, Islamic Group, to sign their publications and invitations to study groups, even though the Islamic Group is none other than the Muslim Brotherhood, which is the only group that uses wisdom and friendly advice to call people to God. Its members adopt a friendly approach in their discussions, and they do not interfere in other people's affairs by force under the pretext of changing what is evil so that truth may prevail. Elections for the Students' Union were held last month, and al-Jihad was able to deceive many students who voted for their candidates. Thus, al-Jihad won the presidency of the Students' Union, and its members are claiming they are the only ones who make up the Islamic Group. The fact is, however, that we, the Muslim Brothers, are the Islamic Group."

Mahmud 'Abd-al-Najjar said the friction between them and members of al-Jihad Organization started since the beginning of the academic year. The cause of this friction is not only their claim that they are the Islamic Group, but also their methods in preaching God's message. Those methods are objectionable. The best evidence of that is what they did when they saw a student standing with a co-ed on campus. They approached the student as a group, and they asked him to stay away from the young woman, who was also a university student. But when they discovered that the female student was related to the young man—she turned out to be his cousin and fiancée—they still did not exempt him from punishment. After the young man walked out of campus, they gave him a beating so that he would not set an example and encourage others to disobey orders and speak to female students on campus.

After the gory incidents which occurred in the campus mosque, the Muslim Brotherhood published a leaflet in which the group's logo appeared on top and the signature, the Islamic Group, appeared at the bottom. That provoked al-Jihad once again.

When the elections campaign heated up, some members of al-Jihad took up positions in the mosque in an effort to prevail upon students to listen to the debates they were holding among themselves. They claimed that they were destined for leadership because they were more worthy of it and worthy of the imamate. They said that the leadership position should be theirs because they were the ones who followed in the footsteps of God's messenger, may God bless him and grant him salvation. They said that Muslim Brothers and their leaders who had collaborated with the government, had abandoned

God's message and become involved in politics and the affairs of the world and joined the People's Assembly. Those people, they said, must not be in the position of defending the word of God.

To support their opinions they produced a photograph of Ma'mun al-Hudaybi, a member of the People's Assembly, shaking hands with a female member of the assembly. They made scores of copies of that photograph and distributed them to students so they could influence the course of the elections which until the last moments favored the Muslim Brotherhood. We could have won the presidency of the Students' Union had it not been for the crooked methods which they used against us. It should also be known that they used to deceive us throughout the preparations for the elections. They used to tell us that they were behind us, but when the campaign heated up, they worked for themselves.

Nabil Muhammad Khadri said, "As Muslims, we promote Islamic morals. The prophet, may God bless him and grant him salvation, says, 'I was sent to perfect noble traits of character.' Foremost among these noble traits are gentleness, mercy, and kind words. But these are things that do not please members of al-Jihad who want to use force and violence with Muslims. You may notice that I have suffered the least injuries, but that is not because I defended myself heroically. Actually, when I saw the chains rising and falling, I threw myself on the floor, preferring to be trampled underfoot by those who were terrified and frightened as they fled from those chains. That is why the injuries I have are only in my hand and on my back. I got those after I fell to the floor."

I left the hospital to meet with Mahmud Taha, the student who was arrested by the district attorney, because the first injured student had accused Mr Taha of attacking him with a chain and attempting to break his head. But God was merciful: the student had to have seven stitches in his head, [but his head was not broken]. Mahmud Taha is a 23-year old student. He is bearded; he has a dark complexion; and he has mysterious features. The bitter expression which appears on his face belongs to a much older man. As feelings and emotions appear on his face, one does not know whether he is smiling or frowning, and it is difficult for one to tell the difference. He was extremely wary when he met me, so I told him that I too was very sorry because he was arrested and charged. I told him that he seemed to be just a Muslim student who prayed his five daily prayers regularly. I said that I would not deceive him and that I was a journalist from AL-MUSAWWAR. I was asking him about the truth: the truth about what happened in the mosque and the reasons that led to it.

All the reservations that he was about to express to me melted away, and he replied somewhat enthusiastically that he was actually not a member of either group. He said he was praying with the worshipers, and as he was about to leave the mosque, the worshipers started beating each other.

I said, "But what was the dispute that led to all these battles?"

He replied, "I believe that members of al-Jihad want to work for the true religion. They do not approve of any concessions made by the Muslim Brotherhood. The Muslim Brothers claim they make these concessions to promote God's message, even as they kill it and strangle it with their own hands. The master, Shaykh Sayyid Qutb, said that anointing oneself with the phrase, preserving God's message, will turn that phrase into an idol for whose sake all kinds of forbidden acts would be committed. Who can accept or who can be led to believe that getting involved in peace talks [with the enemy], serving in the People's Assembly, or eagerly seeking the things of this world has anything to do with God's message? And where is God's message in all that?"

I said, "But what was it, Mr Mahmud, that brought the situation in the mosque to a head? Were there hard feelings between the two groups?"

He said, "As a neutral person I blame the conduct of the Muslim Brothers who want to declare on every occasion that they are the Islamic Group even though that designation belongs to al-Jihad and is known to be theirs. When the Muslim Brothers use that name as their signature on their publications and campaign in the elections as the Islamic Group, isn't this an attack against members of al-Jihad? Isn't that a violation of their religious practices?"

I said, "But don't you think, Mahmud, that al-Jihad provoked the Muslim Brothers during the elections by using Ma'mun al-Hudaybi's photograph, which showed him shaking hands with his female colleague in the assembly?"

He said, "Did the prophet, may God bless him and grant him salvation, shake hands with foreign women? Religion, sir, is an indivisible whole. Regression to pre-Islamic practices is not permitted. That is my point of view as a neutral person. Members of al-Jihad had warned the Muslim Brothers several times against using the phrase, the Islamic group. Friction occurs when the Muslim Brothers do not comply."

I said, "I learned that the disputes were over the imamate. Who is more worthy of it, and who should win it? How true is all that?"

He said, "It is my point of view as a neutral person that al-Jihad is more worthy of the imamate because its members are a group of people who are really Muslims. Who should or who did win the imamate is another matter. The struggle broke out when I came forward to address the worshipers after the prayer. I wanted to speak so that my words might put out the smoldering embers, but Jad al-Nuzhi, a member of the Muslim Brotherhood, stood in my way and tried to prevent me from addressing the worshipers. Because this was unfair

to me, my colleagues in al-Jihad stood around me and tried to make it possible for me to address the worshipers. The Muslim Brothers did not like that, and they started beating us up."

I said, "But you were not injured. All the injuries are among the Muslim Brothers."

He said, "Actually, no one would dare to attack me because I am right, and I say nothing but the truth."

I said, "But Mr Mahmud, you didn't tell me that you were leading the worshipers in prayer. Do you think you were entitled to speak because you are the imam, as far as al-Jihad is concerned?"

He said, "Didn't you ask him if I was the imam or not?"

I said, "How can you be neutral and the imam at the same time?"

He said, "When I told you what happened I was neutral, and that does not deny the fact that I am the imam." I sensed that he did not want to talk after that, so I terminated the interview.

Dr Nassar 'Abdallah Nassar, a professor in the College of Arts in Sawhaj, was conducting a poetry seminar at the university. I met with him afterwards to hear what he thought about what happened between the university students. I wanted to know who he thought was the Islamic Group: the Muslim Brotherhood or al-Jihad? He smiled and said, "Believe me: until this very minute I thought that the term, Islamic Group, referred to both groups." Dr Nassar said that he disapproved of such erroneous ideas about Islam being implanted into the heads of some students who are seeking knowledge at the university. "If we can [not] accept such behavior from those who spent several years getting an education at the university, how can we accept it from those who have just arrived from secondary schools and have been here no more than a year? Where do these ideas and principles come from, and how do they get to them? How can we stand by, unable to discover the source of this intellectual extremism which is polluting the minds of our young people? How can we just stand and watch and scream? How can we take no serious action about looking for those snake pits whose poisons are polluting the minds of our young people? We must have a truthful campaign whose ferocity is no less than that of national campaigns against narcotics. We must pull our most beautiful possessions out of the clutches of our worst imports. What is happening on the scene has nothing to do with religion. It is up to Muslim leaders."

Columnist Sees Islam as Effective Way To Liberate Palestine

45040145 Cairo AL-ITISAM in Arabic Dec 88 pp 10-13

[Article by Dr Hilmi Mahmud al-Qa'ud]

[Excerpts] It seems that some people in our country have been upset by Islamic Jihad in Palestine and by the fact that Islamic organizations have been founded in the

occupied land to oppose the criminal Jewish enemy after all initiatives, capitulations, and attempts failed to dissuade Jewish leaders and make them stop their offenses, iniquities and humiliation of the Islamic nation. These people were so upset, they were forced to declare in public that calling for fighting the enemy as an Islamic duty was seditious. They said Palestine should be liberated before it becomes Islamic and that unity should come before religion. Other such statements were made and justified by some who said that the Palestinians' circumstances do not allow them to take action outside the country. They said an Islamic holy war such as the one which is being fought in Afghanistan could never be duplicated in Palestine, and they said that declaring the Palestinian Revolution an Islamic revolution will open the doors to sectarian strife between Muslims and Christians and will create more obstacles.

All people have a right to talk about anything they want to talk about, and they have a right to say anything they wish to say. Statements made by the devil, by pharaoh, and by nonbelievers are cited in the Koran without intolerance or censorship. However, the Koran confronted those statements, responded to them, analyzed them, and refuted them. This is the advantage of Islam: it gives its followers and its enemies equal freedom. Would Islam do anything less in a dialogue between the Muslims themselves?

We ought to agree on a principle that we all know. We ought to agree on the principle that it is only because of our weakness, our differences and our division that our enemy scored a victory against us. [passage omitted]

What matters, as we can see, is that the outcome was tragic, and Israel was founded in spite of all the leaders and would-be leaders. Nothing was left but the wounds and the pain. Palestinians left in shame, and they lived on the hope that daring heroes would save them from coup leaders who spoke about liberating Palestine and establishing Arab unity and one nation. Unfortunately, none of those leaders did anything more than lose more of what was left of Palestine, break up more of the Arab unity bonds that were left, and cause more fragmentation in the close ties that bind the nation. It was under their fortunate administrations that Israel acquired an outlet to the Red Sea and set the conditions which it dictated to both major and minor Arab countries.

When the Palestinians realized these distressing facts, they started taking control. Fatah Organization was established on an Islamic basis, and its first operations were carried out in the heart of occupied Palestine. The rise of Fatah rocked the world, but attempts to outflank and contain the movement caused it to lose its sense of direction in the glitter of the media. Fatah was plagued by infighting and internecine fighting; it abandoned its method; it tolerated and forgave those same progressive colleagues; and its members delivered addresses and speeches on the advice of friends in the Kremlin and in those capitals of "steadfastness and opposition."

It's been 20 years since the gloomy defeat of 1967. The Palestinian people have given up on their foreign organizations just as they have given up on the Arab countries. That is why they had to seize control themselves. That is why they had to do their duty after those and others abandoned them. The Palestinians had to learn from the lessons of the past. They had to declare their true identity without shame. They had to tell the whole world, "We are a Muslim nation. Palestine is Muslim. We will not squander our land and our honor regardless of the price and the deception."

The Palestinian people thus saw that the proper way to liberate Palestine had to be that way which Salah-al-Din al-Ayyubi and al-Muzaffar Qutur had previously followed. They realized that the way to liberate Palestine was the Islamic way. They realized that Islam was not shameful. When Islam becomes a factor in a scene, many of the enemies' measures are turned upside down and changed. This is because Islam gives Muslims the ability to act and to take control. This is what we call "jihad;" it is our Islamic duty to act against the infidels. It is because of our "jihad" that the enemy feels the loss. The enemy knows that those who are facing him will not stop at talking, making speeches, screaming over microphones, or making sharply critical statements.

The return of Islam to the scene after 20 years of crushing defeat was normal. Islam was brought back on the scene by mainstream Muslims and by several Islamic organizations [such as] al-Jihad, al-Jihad Squadrons, the fundamentalists, and HAMAS. The return of Islam followed the discovery of the truth about "those aforementioned fighters" in their words, chants, and statements; and it followed their division into groups, factions and parties that have no goals in common, not even the goal of liberating Palestine!

The declaration of war against nonbelievers to liberate Muslim Palestine is not seditious. Nor is it a crime from which one must dissociate oneself or hide in shame. There is a very simple reason for that: Islam is the way to liberate Palestine, but the opposite of that is not true. Evidence for this lies in the fact that secularists and leftists who led the political movement and the fight against the enemy have not yet been able to do anything. Instead, they moved the cause backward to the point of recognizing Israel and calling upon the United Nations to protect its borders.

One of the hardest things to accept is the idea of nonpracticing Muslims. When some people say that it is necessary to set doctrine aside to protect national unity, they are calling upon us to become nonpracticing Muslims. They are calling upon us to be Muslims according to our birth certificates only. They are asking us to impose a curfew on Islamic ideas and conduct and to put Islamic doctrine and the Islamic way of life in mothballs. This is the same "tune" that supporters of the 5 June state sang before the gloomy defeat which reduced the significance of the term, Islam, to "spiritual values."

This was how Islam was construed in the pact which was promoted by the geniuses of those unfortunate days: the squalid and the ill-fated individuals who brought dishonor, ruin, and destruction to their nation.

Moussade established a Christian organization in Bethlehem called HAMAM to compete with the Islamic HAMAS. In my opinion this is no justification for the Palestinians to give up the Islamic way to liberate Palestine. Throughout history many Christians in Egypt and Palestine were Muslims in their culture and their conduct, doing their part and defending their land and honor against raids which came from the West and the East. The frame of reference for the few who departed from that general trend was quite removed from religion and doctrine. That frame of reference was treason and subordination to the West. Some of those who claim to be Muslims and Christians, starting with the Maronites, the Nasirists, and the Druze, were involved in that other trend. Even Master Ya'qub and his followers in Egypt were among those.

First, we remind those who think that Islam is dangerous to the uprising and its unity that the uprising is Islamic. It started in mosques throughout the occupied territory. Then it came out of the churches in Bethlehem, Tulkarm, and Bayt Sahur. Everybody, Muslims as well as Christians, has been walking behind the imams of mosques and Islamic scholars, cheering for Palestine and its liberty. Here is a specific question: Was Palestine non-Islamic territory when the Zionist conspiracy was started? If the answer is Palestine was not Islamic, then those people would have the right to say that liberation should come before Islam.

And here is another specific question: Has unity ever been achieved outside Palestine between secular and leftist organizations?

The answer, of course, is well-known. It has never been achieved. Fighters turned their attention to hijacking airplanes and assassinating Palestinian and non-Palestinian leaders, but they never assassinated Jewish leaders!

All "the fighters" found themselves fighting fierce battles with Maronites, Syrians, and Shi'ites. They also found themselves involved in battles with each other. A lot of Palestinian blood was shed in Jordan, Damascus, and Lebanon. But no one got as upset then as he did when he heard about the creation of Islamic organizations inside the occupied land to liberate it. An announcement was made about an imminent danger threatening the fight and the fighters. It was announced that gloomy civil strife was imminent and that it was threatening our world and those in it.

The Islamic Movement in Palestine has been calling for the unity which the enemy and those who have been spreading lies and rumors declare they want. The Islamic Movement declared on more than one occasion its concern about unity and the cohesion of the people

against the criminal Jewish enemy. HAMAS's communique, which was issued on 6 May 1988, may be the best evidence of the freedom fighters' awareness of the conspiracies.

The communique stated: "Our attentive people understand the malicious plans and conspiracies that are being contrived to drive a wedge between citizens and sow the seeds of discord among various groups. Among such attempts are forged statements issued by the enemy's intelligence under an assumed name. One of those is a statement that was issued on 30 April 1988 and signed by HAMAS. That statement included misrepresentations that were designed to create unrest among the people of one nation. As the HAMAS Movement disavows that statement and others like it, it affirms that the unity of our people at this stage is its noble objective. HAMAS is striving for unity, and it is concerned about it. Exposing the imperfections and flaws of our sons and relatives does not concern us. He who proceeds on the path of truth has our prayers for continued success. He who does not is a brother for whom we will care and for whose reform we will pray."

Did you see that? [If you did,] consider it.

It was normal that a new Muslim generation come to life in the occupied land. It was normal that it light a fire in the darkness of despair, plant hope in that arid desert, and declare to the world that there is a nation which is being held captive but which is still alive. That nation is the nation of Palestine. Palestinians are starting to find their proper way to freedom. They are starting to regain their identity after the mercenaries failed, the cardboard leaders were overthrown, and the thieves of heroism were eliminated.

Islam restored life to Palestine after "those aforementioned fighters" had killed it.

Whatever restores life to a nation will liberate that nation and give it its identity.

[Passage omitted]

Islam would not undermine national unity in Palestine or elsewhere. Islam considers those who believe in a revealed religion partners in the country and brothers in humanity. Above all else, they are free non-Muslim subjects—in the proper sense of the term—living in a Muslim country. But Islam does not allow a Muslim to give up his Islam in the name of national unity, regardless of the justifications. Nor does Islam allow a Muslim to stop practicing his religion for the sake of national unity. I believe that people who believe in a revealed religion share this belief with us, at least in so far as they believe in man's right to worship and practice his chosen religion.

What remains is a discussion comparing the holy war in Afghanistan with the holy war in Palestine and with Palestinian action inside the country and abroad. We will have this discussion, God willing, in a future issue.

War Veteran Views Current Events

45040074 Cairo AL-NUR in Arabic 26 Oct 88 p 4

[Interview with Shaykh Hafiz Salamah by Qutb 'Abd-al-Rahman in Egypt, date not specified]

[Excerpts] The Governorate of Suez 2 days ago (24 October) celebrated its national day on the 15th anniversary of its people's victory over the Zionist occupation forces, which were forced to go back where they came from in disappointment.

On this glorious occasion, AL-NUR met with Shaykh Hafiz Salamah who led the popular jihad against the Israeli forces with courage and faith until he destroyed the enemy and forced its withdrawal from the city of Suez.

The conversation with his eminence revolved around his memories of the post-war years and his vision of the future of the Arab-Israeli conflict. [passage omitted]

[AL-NUR] Why did you reject President al-Sadat's initiative to travel to Israel and the signing of the two Camp David Accords[CDA]? Was it for legal or for military and political reasons?

[Salamah] When al-Sadat went to sign this accord, I told him that this agreement he was about to sign would only bring us ignominy and disgrace, and warned him before he departed for America. The CDA was an agreement that did not please God and His Prophet and did not do anything for our pride and dignity. We were hoping to get Israel out by force and not through this agreement which turned Sinai over to others. The Egyptian Army and even the police are not able to fulfill their duty there. Martyr Sulayman Khatir set an example for us, doing his duty in protecting Egypt's land, but nonetheless they conspired against him!

Unfortunately, Sinai is in the hands of the United Nations Emergency Force and Israel can, at any moment, attack us and occupy this land so long as it is kept unoccupied and there are no forces to deter Israel. The Egyptian Air Force cannot even use the airports on the west bank of the canal. Indeed, I maintain that Israel, as soon as it is able to catch its breath, will occupy this land once again because it has always believed in a greater Israel from the Nile to the Euphrates.

[AL-NUR] How do you assess the judgment regarding Taba's return and did you reject the principle of arbitration from the beginning, or did you accept it?

[Salamah] Taba's return to Egyptian sovereignty is on paper only. It has not been returned to actual Egyptian

sovereignty that permits the Egyptian Armed Forces to control it. If anything, this proves that this is something we have gained on paper only. Moreover, the whole world has recognized it as our land and we have to ask here whether Israel really owns the land for which it is fighting. Israel's presence is on land that does not belong to it, so how can it haggle, saying "this is your land and this is our land?" Israel has no basis for its existence, so how can it give itself the right to fight over someone else's sovereignty and over 1 inch not only of Egyptian land but of Palestinian land as well?

[AL-NUR] Do you believe that popular resistance can assume a role equal to the armed forces in war? And do you see a need to raise the people's military awareness to perform their duties if necessary?

[Salamah] I believe that if Israel and those who stand behind it were to find out that the people of the Islamic and Arab nation have received military training and have been prepared to face the enemies of Islam wherever they may be and at any location, the enemy would not be able to undermine the Islamic and Arab nation. Unfortunately, however, the Muslims have been fettered and the enemy is scoffing at us and our capabilities. Every location and every arena ought to have a place to train every Muslim and every citizen in the use of arms in order to confront the enemy.

In addition, the Armed Forces certainly cannot do without the people as the people cannot do without the Armed Forces. We are all sons of this nation and when the caller of the jihad calls, everyone stands in one united rank.

[AL-NUR] A popular Islamic resistance patterned after the Islamic resistance in Suez emerged in Lebanon against Israeli and American presence and some suicide operations were carried out. Some people, however, rejected this method. How do you respond to these people?

[Salamah] I have always believed in the maxim that "what is taken by force must be regained by force." No Islamic land can be liberated from its usurpers without the use of force. One proof is Afghanistan where some fedayeen—I do not mean suicide operations were undertaken ["fedayeen" can mean either "commandos" or "self-sacrificers"]—because such actions had been preceded by other Islamic operations during the time of the Prophet and His Companions. Those who undertook these actions had in mind not suicide but rather a commando act that compelled America to call one day "the Black Day," on which a single commando succeeded in destroying its forces' headquarters in Beirut. Furthermore, American, French, British and Italian forces decided to withdraw from Lebanon. Think what might happen if this action is repeated. It will change the Islamic map, which is suffering today under the Israeli occupation of Palestine.

[AL-NUR] A statement was put out recently announcing a coordination agreement between the Palestinian Islamic Resistance Movement (HAMAS) and the PLO in the occupied territories. What is your comment about this agreement and how do you view the Palestinian people's intifadah?

[Salamah] Unfortunately, I have not read anything about this agreement, but I hope God will bless this jihad and grant it success. The Palestinian people, God willing, will regain their usurped land very soon through their struggle and with the participation of Muslims everywhere.

The intifadah the Palestinian people are undertaking is a blessed one and we gave it our blessings the day we announced a number of conferences held in Cairo and other places to rise to its aid and support in the beloved land of Palestine.

[AL-NUR] The PLO recently announced its intention to declare an independent Palestinian state. What are your comments on this matter?

[Salamah] I hope that the PLO's actions will be in deed and not in word and that the PLO will take a good look at its enemy, who is cunning and wicked, but is incapable of facing this people and unable to resist. As God said: "They will not fight you together, except in fortified townships or from behind walls. Strong is their fighting spirit among themselves."

We are the ones who have aggrandized the Israeli forces and I ask the PLO to employ force in its approach.

With regard to the state they intend to declare, we are waiting for its goals and principles to be announced. If they are Islamic, we will support it. Otherwise, we will not.

[AL-NUR] Now that 15 years have passed since the October War, how do you assess conditions in the region and how do you perceive the future of the struggle?

[Salamah] The region will not know stability as long as this wound in the Islamic nation is present, namely the usurped land in Palestine. There will be no stability unless the colonialist invaders are driven out, something that will be achieved, God willing, at the hands of the believers.

[AL-NUR] What is the role of the Islamic tendency in the struggle with the enemy?

[Salamah] The only thing we can do now is pray for our brothers, the fighters. Furthermore, we call upon all Muslims to prepare for the coming battle between us and Israel which undoubtedly will come.

[AL-NUR] Finally, as Suez celebrates its national day, we see that bars are opening their doors in clear defiance of

the governor's decision to close them. What role did you play in the issuance and enforcement of this decision?

[Salamah] It is unfortunate that in 1981 I called for a demonstration in the city of Suez demanding the closing of bars. We met to stage a demonstration at the Shuhada' [Martyrs'] Mosque and when the governor, Ahmad Hilmi Badr, found out about it, he met with the chairman of the local popular council and they asked me to postpone the march, promising to issue a decision to shut down the bars, and they did. When I went to jail in 1981 under the ill-omened September decisions, the decision was suspended and the bars obtained licenses from the Ministry of Tourism under the caveat that they are tourist places. Today, we are continuing the dialogue with Major General Tahsin Shanan, governor of Suez, who has repeatedly promised us to enforce the first decision. When we call for the prohibition of alcoholic beverages, we do so because God prohibited them in His Book. Let us ask ourselves who sells alcoholic beverages? Is it not the government? And who licenses them? Is it not the government? If President Husni Mubarak is faithful to God, he will abolish the factories that produce alcoholic beverages.

Professors Attack Emergency Law Restrictions at Universities

45040083 Cairo *AL-MUKHTAR AL-ISLAMI* in Arabic
Nov 88 pp 60-64

[Article by Dr Layla Bayyumi: "Muslims' Woes Under the University Dome. How Does the Emergency Law Affect Egyptian University Professors?"]

[Text] We continue the journey of suffering on the emergency law road. Universities have had the lion's share of police laws and open warfare against Muslims. Muslim youth are at times thrown into jail in Upper Egypt and, at other times, are fired upon as an offering to the devil so that he may rest assured that corruption is still rampant and that festivities are still being held to celebrate Egypt's victory over its crises and its subjugation of its people.

Another secret war is gnawing like woodworms at the university structure, creating a climate in which we do not know how to distinguish between agents and students of learning or informants and university professors, thereby disassociating the university from its real role which has been lost between lurking guards, pursuers lying in wait, and captive scholars.

Examples Are Clear to Eyewitnesses Everywhere

Following the 1981 events, a large group of university faculty members were arrested, and when they were released by the prosecution and won a judgment of acquittal, they remained in detention from 1 to 3 years. We cite as examples: Dr 'Abd-al-Majid al-Faqqi, Cairo University School of Science; Dr 'Asim Fahim, Cairo

University School of Science; Dr Salih al-Nawawi, Dr Salah Mahyub; Dr Muhammad Mustafa, Cairo University School of Engineering; and Dr 'Isam Hashish.

During the 1987 People's Assembly elections, the following professors were suddenly arrested for no reason at all: Sharif 'Abd-al-Mun'im, Hulwan University School of Engineering; Ahmad Salim, Cairo University School of Medicine; Ahmad Sa'd, Cairo University School of Engineering; Sharaf-al-Din, School of Science; and Salah Sultan, College of Science. Despite the prosecution's decision to release them the day they were arrested for lack of evidence, their detention remained in effect for over 2 months. Meanwhile, 2,665 students from various Egyptian universities were arrested before exams started and many of them had to take their exams, even the practical part, in handcuffs. Detained professors refused to test their students in handcuffs. Contrived incidents, the war of detention, and terror have gone unchecked at all colleges and at all times against all those who believe in their Islamic religion and say "God is my Lord."

Emergency Law and University Blockade: Where to?

During a quick tour with faculty members, we talked about how they felt about the continued university siege under police law and about their share of suffering under the war of terror.

Misdemeanor Against the Interior Ministry

Dr 'Abd-al-Majid al-Faqqi (Cairo University School of Science): "The large number of emergency laws is the strongest evidence of backwardness. As for democracy and pro forma practices, these are spurious and trivial matters that can fool only the simpleminded. After I won a judgment of acquittal and was rearrested in the wake of the Abu-Pasha incidents, I was held in jail for 5 months without charge or investigation despite three court orders for my release. I filed a grievance suit (direct misdemeanor) against the Ministry of the Interior because of my arrest and torture. The case is still pending in court."

Thinking Is Cause for Suspicion

Dr Ibrahim al-Dissuqi Shatta (School of Fine Arts) said: "The continuation of the emergency law represents contempt for an entire people. I was summoned for questioning amid horrible security intervention in university affairs and under the emergency law. I was surprised because the prosecution acquitted and released me. I am held for several hours at the airport on my way out or when my travel is for a specific scientific mission or as a university delegate. The situation has become extremely bad. Intellectual publications are being used to level unfounded organizational charges based solely on false security reports. This kind of questioning is considered mind control. Thought is considered suspect, and Islam is radicalism."

No Immunity for Those Who Have Immunity Under the Emergency Law

Dr Shatta added: "If the emergency law allows the interior minister to issue arrest orders against those lawfully acquitted of all charges on grounds that they represent a danger, what guarantees are there against abusing this right? There are no guarantees and no safeguards. When the university invokes immunity, I wonder if People's Assembly members with immunity are protected? Who in the Interior Ministry will testify against the minister of the interior? And what can I say about the emergency law when the university has turned into a dilapidated institution that is failing to fulfill even its educational mission, to say nothing of its research and scientific tasks? This climate, which cannot be conducive to scientific or intellectual genius, is killing generations and bringing up generations in the shadow of fear, intimidation, and official terrorism."

Witness Worked in National Party Hallways

Dr Muhammad Isma'il 'Ali, professor of international law at al-Azhar University, said:

"The emergency law means suspension of constitutional provision, particularly those articles pertaining to human rights and general freedoms, such as freedom of expression, debate, assembly, and demonstration; also, the right to strike and all other rights which man can exercise within the framework of his legitimate rights."

Right To Spy

The emergency law invests the head of the executive power or his deputy, the interior minister, with the right to arrest people from any political side merely on suspicion and without a warrant; the right to monitor correspondence and telephone calls without a warrant as well; and the right to detain without a warrant from the prosecution.

Daily Pursuits and Dogged Siege at Universities

Far away from the series of recurring arrests that are evident to everyone, we find that daily practices and life inside the universities take on varying forms of suppression and terrorism. Referring students to disciplinary boards, expelling them, and barring them from taking their exams are likely and widespread matters caused by ready and numerous reasons, including:

Reading the Koran in the auditoriums before lectures; traditional night vigils and prayers at university cities, talking to students about matters of religion and religious observances, enjoining right and forbidding wrong, and holding exhibits on Afghanistan and Palestine, as happened at Hulwan University and the College of Communications.

Ridicule and pursuit in some cases can go as far as calling in the legal guardians of bearded or veiled [female]

students, as is the case at the Applied Arts, Business and Fine Arts Colleges, and interrogating legal guardians to intimidate students and harass their parents at the hands of security officers. In January 1987, the legal guardians of six Islamic activities students were called in for interrogation. Names of students are crossed off the lists of candidates for student union elections based on security reports on grounds that anyone engaging in religious activities is an exconvict and is barred from future activity through detention, disciplinary boards, and exclusion from the lists of candidates, thereby compelling students to register and nominate colleagues with no prior activity. Nonetheless, the Islamic tendency wins student union seats in accordance with the wishes of the broad student base, but the winners are barred from exercising their rights and legitimate activities. The union budget is diverted against their will to parties and festivities highly unpopular with most students, as happened recently when the university youths were provoked and baited and their budget squandered over such celebrations that were used as a media war against so-called radicalism and terrorism. For the last 7 years of the emergency law, faculties have been meeting at their university clubhouse to denounce and reject emergency laws. In specific communique put out by a club conference, university professors call for the repeal of the emergency law, for the amendment of the student bylaws, for collegiate immunity, for the selection of university leaders through elections, and for putting a stop to security agency intervention in university affairs. Throughout more than 35 conferences, their demands have been brushed aside and totally ignored.

Dr Yusuf 'Abd-al-Rahman, president of the faculty club at the University of Cairo, mentioned in a meeting he and university professors had with the minister of education that under the kind of coercion, aggression, and tyranny we are all experiencing university professors will not be able to enjoy any form of immunity. It is wrong to remove a university professor from his position because of his political views or for taking part in debates about problems plaguing the people.

Dr Nabih Hasdhim, president of the University of Alexandria Club, underscored security agency violations of campus sanctity and professorial immunity, emphasizing that police tactics security agencies use at the universities are befitting societies suffering repression and coercion in all issues that touch the country and the people. The professors denounced before their minister security agency tactics and blatant intervention in university affairs, as well as the intimidation of students and professors and the presence of spy and eavesdropping agencies in study halls and auditoriums to record meetings, lectures, and professor-student talks.

Foreign Affairs Minister on Palestinian Issue
NC0501101389 Cairo MENA in English
0910 GMT 5 Jan 89

[Text] Paris—Egyptian State Minister for Foreign Affairs Dr Butrus Ghali said that the issue of Egypt's return to the Arab League was not currently debated, as

Egypt has other priorities, especially in working to solve the Palestinian problem. In an interview last night with radio "France Inter" Dr Ghali said that while Egypt welcomes the return of the Arab League to Cairo, it does not wish for this to create dissension or Arab problems that may lessen the stress on settling the Palestinian issue, as all Arab efforts should focus on realizing this objective.

Dr Ghali described peace between Egypt and Israel as a "cool peace," as every day Israel is killing Palestinian children and is still expelling Palestinians, thereby violating the Geneva Convention, while it also keeps imposing collective sanctions and usurping the Palestinians' human rights.

Dr Ghali stressed the importance of an effective Soviet participation in steps towards realising peace in the Middle East, expressing belief that the Soviet-American rapprochement that put a stop to the cold war between them will create an agreement at the UN Security Council to facilitate the solving of the Palestinian crisis.

Ghali said that the legal basis for settling the issue lies in UN Security Council Resolution 242, agreed upon by the five permanent member states of the UN Security Council.

Dr. Ghali said the peace procedures should start in order to foster the moderation which prevails in the Arab atmosphere and the international community, to limit radicalism and to stem the deterioration of conditions in the occupied territories. This should be done through preparing for an international peace conference and starting direct contact between the Israelis and the PLO.

On the future meeting in Paris between the Egyptian and Israeli foreign ministers and whether it would yield a common visualization, Dr Ghali said Egypt has not been entrusted by the Palestinians to move on their behalf. He added that direct contact is the key to a settlement.

On Israeli Premier Yitzhaq Shamir's readiness to hold elections in the occupied territories, Ghali said that the PLO has rejected this, and in case such elections take place they should be under international auspices and should be connected with peace procedures. He said that this is purely a Palestinian issue and if the Palestinians agree, the Arab group will also approve.

Dr Ghali said Israel did not respect the spirit of the Camp David agreements by continuing to build settlements, by annexing Arab Jerusalem and the Golan, and by its military incursion in Lebanon following a series of usurpations which made the application of the agreements difficult.

Dr Ghali said that many opportunities had been lost and peace requires some sacrifices, adding that the Palestinians recognized the State of Israel through Resolutions 242 and 338 and it is natural to expect a similar recognition by the Israelis.

The Egyptian state minister for foreign affairs said "We encourage moderation and reconciliation" and the Palestinians have shown moderation and political courage.

On whether he approved of the setting up of a provisional Palestinian government, Ghali said the Palestinians are the ones to decide on the suitable time for forming their government, and the important matter now is the contact between Palestinians and Israelis.

Dr Ghali said PLO Chairman Yasir 'Arafat says everything clearly and in a coordinated way, and the proof is that most world countries recognized the Palestinian state and supported 'Arafat's action.

Dr Ghali denied the Palestinians' involvement in the recent crash of an American passenger plane over Scotland, and said an international team will find the culprits of this crime.

Dr Ghali said Egypt encourages dialogue between the PLO on one side and the United States and Israel on the other, adding that one of the objectives of the Egyptian policy during the Cairo preparatory conference in December 1977 was to hold a direct dialogue between the organization and the United States and Israel, a matter rejected by the PLO at that time. He said that dialogue is the basis for a peaceful settlement to the Palestinian problem.

Dr Ghali said that the PLO has rejected terrorism in the Cairo Declaration, in addition to rejecting it in the recent resolutions in Algiers by the Palestine National Council, and this is enough for those Israelis who want peace and who accept the Palestinian presence and accept dialogue.

Dr Ghali expressed hope for a high level contact to take place between 'Arafat and the French Government, referring to statements by President Francois Mitterrand saying that in suitable time, contact will be held with the organization.

He said that the holding of an international peace conference will weaken the position of extremists and at the same time give hope to the moderates.

On Syrian-Egyptian contacts, Dr Ghali said that at present, there are no such contacts, adding that if we seek conciliation between the Arabs and the Israelis, we should also work to realize reconciliation among the Arabs themselves.

The Egyptian state minister for foreign affairs urged the superpowers to intervene to settle the Lebanese crisis,

adding that Egypt's stance was always in support of Lebanon's unity and independence, especially of religious balance there.

He stressed the importance of an Arab summit to unify Arab ranks and encourage the international community to accord importance to the Palestinian issue.

On the winning of a Nobel literature prize by Egyptian Writer Najib Mahfuz, Dr Ghali said all Egyptians had been happy with this prize, despite those who had objected the prize being given to Egypt.

Dailies Condemn Knesset's Refusal To Talk With PLO

NC060101092889 Cairo MENA in Arabic 0623 GMT 6 Jan89

[Text] Cairo newspapers today condemn the Israeli Knesset's refusal to negotiate with the PLO, which now enjoys the recognition of the whole world. The papers say that this rejection is based on feeble justifications and worn-out pretexts which repeat the claim that the PLO has not changed its nature as a terrorist organization.

The papers express indignation at the Knesset's decision to hold talks with Palestinian figures who recognize the State of Israel, condemn terrorism, and accept Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338. The papers point out that all these requirements outlined in the decision have already been unequivocally met by the PLO in its declarations to the whole world.

AL-AKHBAR says that the Knesset decision sums up the stand adopted by the Tel Aviv leaders, as well as the various methods and pretexts they use to avoid entering into any talks aimed at establishing peace and restoring rights to their owners. The paper says that the United States, which used to adopt a stand similar to that of the Israelis regarding the conditions for a dialogue with the Palestinians, could not hold out for long after the entire world testified that the PLO had fulfilled these conditions. It was forced to hold a dialogue with the PLO, the paper points out.

AL-AKHBAR states that the meaning of the Knesset decision is that Tel Aviv wants to choose the Palestinian figures that it agrees to negotiate with. We have never heard of such a thing before, the paper declares, and asks whether, since Israel insists on choosing the personalities it will talk with, Yitzhaq Shamir or Shim'on Peres would agree that the Palestinians should choose the members of the Israeli delegation in a dialogue?

Under the headline "The Knesset Does Not Serve Peace," AL-AHRAM newspaper states that the whole world now wonders about the reason for Israel's reluctance and failure to respond to the Palestinian peace initiative. The paper notes in this regard that British Foreign Secretary Geoffrey Howe has called on Israel to

respond to the Palestinian peace overtures and that the Israeli people must be careful not to miss opportunities.

AL-AHRAM asserts that Israel will be making a grave mistake if it wagers on possible success in putting forward alternative ideas and plans, such as new Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Arens' proposal to formulate temporary arrangements to establish what he called peace in the occupied land, which does not deal with the final status of these territories.

AL-AHRAM emphasizes that Israel may be wagering on the possibility of further Palestinian concessions, but no one in the Palestinian arena can now offer more than what the PNC offered as its latest session in Algiers. Israel, the paper continues, will be making a mistake if it counts on the possibility of circumventing the increasing large-scale international support for the Palestinian peace initiative. This is not a temporary emotional outburst, as Shamir claims, the paper says. It is rational support based on the fact that the Palestinians have formulated a clear and responsible political position, consistent with the will of the international community and designed to help convene an international peace conference that will have a successful outcome.

Refutation of Shaykh Salah Abu-Isma'il's Statement Discussed

45040084C Cairo AL-NUR in Arabic 16 Nov 88 p 8

[Article by Faruq 'Abd-al-Salam]

[Text] The distinguished al-Hamzah Da'bas and Mustafa 'Adnan disagreed with His Eminence Shaykh Salah Abu-Isma'il over the new testimony he recently gave in the "Those Delivered From the Fire" case. We assume, God willing, it was an amicable difference of compassion. For the sake of God and in compliance with His shari'ah and the sunna of His Prophet, we have the following to say in this regard:

1. Shaykh Salah believes that the positive laws that govern us permit what God has forbidden. Mr al-Hamzah Da'bas believes that this contention holds the gravest danger, and he and Mustafa 'Adnan believe that these positive laws did not permit what God has forbidden and the only thing they do is that they punish those who commit unlawful acts or provide for other positive punishments. This, by God, is a strange belief on their part in need of consideration:

A state, under its positive laws, imposes on its bank and manages its economy by an interest and usury system. Doesn't this mean that it has permitted usury?! A state allows the opening of nightclubs and bars and allows the importation, sale, and purchase of alcoholic beverages. Doesn't this mean that it has permitted and sanctioned alcoholic beverages? A state permits gambling in first-class hotels in exchange for a "cut" or a floor charge! Doesn't this mean that it has permitted betting and gambling?!

The same thing goes for wearing swimsuits, bellydancing, fornication, male hairdressers, and so forth. They have permitted what God has forbidden by the force of law, sanctioning these acts in the absence of "forbidden" and punishment!

2. Mr Mustafa 'Adnan believes that the five tenets of Islam "are operative" nowadays! Everyone knows that almsgiving, the third tenet of Islam, is inoperative and left to individual choice. Only those who cling to their religion and low-income people like them usually pay the alms tax. Hence, the alms tax loses its value and importance because it would serve its purpose and would be adequate if the state were to collect it from the rich in particular. God Almighty says, addressing His Prophet and all Muslim rulers: "Of their goods take alms." [Surah 9:103]

A ruler, with his sovereign powers, is more capable of collecting the alms tax from everyone in full. He has more knowledge of how to expend the alms and who is more entitled to it today! The war of apostacy broke out because some people refused to pay it to Abu-Bakr and not to the Prophet. Today, people do not renounce it, but it is the Muslim ruler who refuses to collect it! Is this not a disaster, Mr Mustafa?

3. Mr al-Hamzah Da'bas asked Shaykh Salah about the ascription of his pronouncement "The idol is anyone who rules by other than God's revelations", regarding it as a "very serious" statement! Mr Mustafa 'Adnan proclaims his definite disagreement with Shaykh Salah Abu-Isma'il and his disapproval of the view that failure to rule by God's shari'ah or by some of God's revelations eliminates the difference between unbelief on the one hand and injustice and iniquity on the other hand, rendering it three adjectives for one noun rather than three attributes for three categories!

This means that Mr al-Hamzah Da'bas and Mr Mustafa 'Adnan's attitude toward the martyr of Islam, Sayyid Qutb, is identical to their current attitude toward Shaykh Salah Abu-Isma'il. Consequently, we ask them what they think about the prophetic tradition which al-Tarmadhi in his ascription selected from Ibn-Hatim's enemies and about its strength as an ascription in the case at hand, in which the Prophet, God bless Him and grant Him salvation, says: "Yes, they have forbidden what is lawful and permitted what is unlawful so they followed them and this is how they worship them."

I wonder if, because of this prophetic tradition, the two gentlemen insist on saying that the positive laws that govern us nowadays do not permit anything unlawful?!

4. I share Mr al-Hamzah Da'bas and Mr Mustafa 'Adnan's fears that Shaykh Salah's new testimony today is meant to incite the radicals and drive them to change through assassinations and bloodshed. For the fatwah [formal legal opinion] of unbelief may compel some of

them to rise against the ruler, even without investiture, for merely assassinating an unbeliever!

They overlooked the fact that the liability of unbelief does not fall on the rulers under the modern state system, for the ruler's duty is to implement, whereas "legislation" is the responsibility of the parliament, namely the People's Assembly. Any ruler may be held liable and responsible when the members of parliament ratify the application of the shari'ah and he fails to consent to or carry out the order.

Shaykh Salah Abu-Isma'il says: "I ask the People's Assembly to withdraw the vote of confidence from those who do not rule by God's revelations." But the assembly itself has not yet ratified governance by God's revelations! The Shaykh of al-Azhar, the [Grand] Mufti, and all official religious leaders have accepted the positions of their legal judgment and therefore their fatwah through these positions is purely "advisory" and totally non-binding! They cling stubbornly to it despite the procrastination and stalling that has gone on for a full century and more, starting in 1883 when the national "indigenous" courts were established to replace the canonical courts!

Consequently, we are in a situation where liability and responsibility are general and shared and, therefore, we cannot level charges of unbelief against any official in particular! In other words, we are in a situation that calls for a radical change, a change in the constitution and a change within the system. The way to accomplish this is not through assassination, in an age in which rulers are entrenched behind the most formidable and modern weapons. It is done all over the world by raising the banner of "civil disobedience." The majority and the weakest of the peoples of the world declare civil disobedience for many and much more trivial reasons! For their daily bread!

Should not the law of God be cherished more than the daily bread?!

Mr al-Hamzah Da'bas says: "Why have we not knocked at the door of the best jihad, a word of truth by a despotic sultan?"

As a matter of information, the term "word of truth" here does not mean newspaper articles only, for there have been writings aplenty! And there were no newspapers during the Prophet's time! Rather, it means going out to the ruler to tell it to him directly, provided that the person going out is unarmed. This is the essence of civil disobedience, going out without arms. God knows that.

ISRAEL

GESHER Editor Sees Changes Following PNC Session

44230027 Tel Aviv 'AL HAMISHMAR in Hebrew
18 Nov 88 pp 8-9

[Interview with Ziyad Abu-Ziyad, editor of the Hebrew-language newspaper GESHER, by Tali Barzilay Zonenfeld in Jerusalem; date not given]

[Text] We set our meeting for 0900. Ziyad Abu-Ziyad, editor of GESHER, the Arab biweekly printed in Hebrew, forgot. We waited at the editorial offices. A freezing Jerusalem cold. The newspaper is almost a one-man operation. There were no reporters, one telephone, three rooms. It is doubtful whether anyone who did not see the sign on the door, "GESHER—a Palestinian weekly in the Hebrew language," would know that this was the editorial office of a newspaper. The office looked like any other.

A cheerful secretary, speaking broken English, brewed us tea with mint. She tried to call Ziyad's house in al-Azariyah. There was no connection. In a neighboring room, bent over all the Hebrew newspapers published the same day, was Sa'id 'Aydash. His Hebrew was fluent. "Telephone service to the West Bank has been cut off, so it is impossible to find out what's up with Ziyad," he explains. They are analyzing the results of the elections. There is talk of voting fraud on the Haredi street. Sa'id is an expert in the field. On the wall behind him are two maps; maps of the settlements in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

It is 0945. Ziyad arrives. "What!? We had an appointment?"

Yes, for 0900.

"I was in Ramallah. I was trying to renew my driver's license. What a line. What a humiliation. I came back without taking care of it." Later, he will say that he simply forgot to consult his date book and so forgot our meeting.

Ziyad Abu-Ziyad—lawyer, journalist. In his fifties. A well-known society man who refuses to reveal the identities of his friends. "I do not want to bring them into the article, but I have a lot of friends. Academics from Tel Aviv University and the University of Jerusalem, politicians from the left, friends from RATZ [Citizens Rights Movement] and MAPAM [United Workers Party], from the doves in the Labor Alignment, from the Progressives, and from HADASH [Democratic Front for Peace and Equality]. I have, of course, many journalists for friends. I am very familiar with those at the Center for Peace, and I am a member of the editorial board of NEW OUTLOOK." A media personality, it is not necessary to know Arabic to interview him. He speaks Hebrew fluently and says, "Anyone who does not use plain language

will not be understood, I use Hebrew." He uses very Israeli expressions. He is a polished subject. He knows how to sell his wares. Slippery, a diplomat—he tries to lecture on the Palestinian problem at collective farms, schools, and social clubs. An intellectual—he tries to join in social events. "I have the label of a man of dialogue," he announces at the start of our conversation, the subject of which is the meeting of the Palestinian National Council. Until 5 June 1967, he was a supervisor in the Jordanian Ministry of the Interior. "When I left, I was sure that I would soon return. I left all my personal effects there."

He talks of his newspaper and boasts of its objectivity. "I was able to write for the left, but I came to the conclusion that it is pointless to preach to the converted, so I went to the center. The paper expresses a wide range of viewpoints, from the most radical to the Palestinian right."

Until November 1983, he was editor of AL-FAJR. He resigned and returned to his profession as a lawyer. "Then I understood that journalism is like drugs; it is impossible to withdraw from it. I decided to return. I saw that there are enough newspapers in Arabic and decided to give a paper in Hebrew a try."

Who are your readers?

"All kinds of Israelis. In every edition, we have two pages of Palestinian literature and art. It is important to me that the Israeli should learn about our culture instead of thinking all the time about Palestinians as terrorists."

How many readers does the newspaper have?

"We have 400 subscribers and the paper is also sold in stores."

The newspaper is now in its 3d year. It has few writers. Much of the work is done by Ziyad himself, including the editorials. Excerpts are translated from Arabic publications, and there is extensive coverage of the events in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

When we entered, the secretary immediately gave us the edition of GESHER from 4 November, edition No 61. In the editorial, Ziyad analyzes the causes for the Alignment's failure in the elections for the 12th Knesset.

The newspaper is not profitable. Where does its financing come from?

"First of all, I run an Arabic journalism service and sell it primarily in Paris and London where most of the large Arabic weeklies are located. I am also a lawyer earning money, some of which I set aside for financing the newspaper. Any money that I earn from lectures goes into the paper's account."

You appeared in election commercials for RATZ. Why them of all people?

"They are the only ones who asked me if I would agree. Everything that I said there was the honest truth, not simply election puffing. I have friends from the Progressive List who were angry about my appearance for RATZ, I told them that they had never, not once, asked me to appear or asked what I thought. Even if 'Gandhi' [nickname for retired General Rehav'am Ze'evi, founder of the MOLEDET party] had sought me out, I would have given him a reply, and he could have listened to it or thrown it away. I believe that one of the most important things possible is to recognize one another. Human contact has enormous influence. Our problem is that everyone sits in his bunker and will not come out. GESHER is a drop in the ocean, but a drop is better than nothing."

Ziyad is searching for the center; he loves to seek out good will from everyone. He adds, "On the Palestinian side, they treat me with respect. Even those who do not agree with my views. They know that I am not a collaborator and that I am not about to sell out Palestine. My views have representation in the Palestinian camp."

Today, Monday, before the declaration of a Palestinian state, is there a genuine breakthrough in the National Council, or is the whole thing a tactical matter?

"I hope so. They are arguing over [UN Resolution] 242, and in my opinion that is the main obstacle. I hope that they will pass a resolution that will enable the Americans and the Europeans to push the peace process forward. We are a sensitive, Eastern society for which honor is a grave matter. I hope that the Intifadah has restored to people the self-confidence they had lost, and now people are speaking from a position of strength. I would like to believe that they will have the strength to adopt Resolution 242 while they are not pushed into a corner and frustrated."

What are the exact boundaries 'Arafat is speaking about today?

Ziyad shifts uneasily in his chair, pauses, and after some time replies: "There are different opinions on that. The Democratic Front and the Communists are speaking of the 1967 borders. Fatah speaks of the partition decision of 1947, but also says that the final borders will be determined by negotiations. Fatah is holding the door open to the 1967 borders, but does not want to feel bound to them. The main reason for this is that Fatah knows that, if it should come out with a declaration accepting the 1967 borders, Israel would haggle and want more. And so, they prefer to enter negotiations from a position of strength. The Popular Front is ready to accept the 1947 borders, but is not ready to speak about final borders until after acceptance of Resolution 181. I am able to say that Fatah, the Democratic Front, and the Communists, who make up a majority, are willing to

accept in principle more or less the 1967 borders. Of course, there are dissidents, but they are marginal and without influence. I want to emphasize that they have had no influence so far, but that if the deadlock continues, their influence will increase and their power will grow and grow. If the moderates among us do not reach a political compromise, we will lose out to the Islamic Front, because people in distress turn to religion, and more and more people will go to them. If that happens at the rate at which religion is rising in Israel, it is reasonable to assume that in the not so distant future, the dispute will become religious rather than national and, as such, will be much more dangerous; already, it is necessary to think about that."

Salah Khalaf—'Abu Iyad—'Arafat's deputy, recently said that the Palestinian people have no choice and must achieve something. Is that only a tactical step or a declaration of recognition of the 1967 borders and renunciation of the doctrine of reclaiming the land in stages?

"I do not know if Khalaf said that, but all the talk about the doctrine of stages seems naive to me. I do not see any chance for considering the doctrine of stages because the conditions have changed, warfare has changed, the reality on the ground has changed. If we spoke about the doctrine of stages 45 years ago, or 35 years ago, that was practical then. Weapons were different—the rifle—you could advance step by step. Today, we are in an age of sophisticated weaponry, rockets able to strike at a distance of thousands of kilometers, and so that kind of thinking is out of date. Israel is now a nuclear power, it has opportunities in outer space, and now it is impossible to think in terms of fighting Israel.

"If a Palestinian state arises next to Israel, it will be a hostage for which an attack on Israel would not be worthwhile. For Palestinians today, there is nothing to lose. Even the man who plants a bomb is able to flee and even if he is caught, the one who sent him is not. But if there is a Palestinian state, it will not give the extremists on the Israeli side a pretext to return and conquer it; it will be like the border patrol and will not allow anyone to attack Israel. And of course, it will need to meet the challenges of how to build a new state and a new society, to absorb refugees, to solve economic and social problems. If there is peace, it will be possible to make arrangements for the future that will assure that Israel's withdrawal from the territories will not endanger it and that the Israelis will not feel that they gave up the land in vain."

Sulano, the photographer, wants to ask Ziyad a question. What would you like to happen now?

"That the political process should begin to fall apart."

What are you saying?

"Let two states arise. I do not shut my eyes and say, 'You do not exist,' so I am not willing to hear you say that I do not exist. I hope that, in Algiers, they will accept [Resolution] 242 with reservations. I want them to add recognition of our own right. The most problematic provision there speaks of Israel's right to exist within safe and recognized borders. We want to receive exactly the same right. The purpose of the resolution was to deal with the results of 1967. In [Resolution] 242, there is absolutely nothing that speaks of the national rights of the Palestinian people, the provisions speak only of refugees without even identifying them, whether they are Palestinian Arabs or Jewish refugees from Arab countries. Therefore, it is necessary to attach further provisions to [Resolution] 242."

What answer would a Palestinian state within the 1967 borders give to the inhabitants of the refugee camps, such as al-Miyah wa Miyah, al-Rashidiyah, or even al-Duhayshah and Balatah, who fled in 1948 and speak about the right of return?

"We will be able to settle them on the West Bank and to save them from grief at the hands of the Phalange, Amal, the Syrian Army, and others in Lebanon. We will give them a life of dignity in a Palestinian state."

Will that satisfy them? Will they give up the right to return?

"The right is one thing and realization of it is another. Those who speak about the right of return are not necessarily speaking of its realization. That is their right and I do not deny it. If I am not able to realize a right, then what? Will I kill myself? People today understand that a man as an individual agrees to amputation of a leg or an arm so he may continue to live, and if he does not give up the leg, he will die. In other words, either we will continue to be persecuted or we can live in a part of the land smaller than what we wanted before. A small state is preferable to achieving nothing at all just because we want everything. We want a comprehensive solution which will not leave anything unresolved. I do not see anything extraordinary in Balatah or in al-Jalazun. By the way, the Intifadah began here; it has changed things."

How?

"Its purpose was to send a message, to broadcast to Israelis and the world that the situation in the territories cannot continue endlessly in the status quo. The world received the broadcast and it is clear to all that a solution must be found. I think that the words of 'Gandhi' are one reaction from the Israeli side to the Intifadah while the reaction of MAPAM is another, more positive one. Everyone in Israel believes that a solution is necessary. There are those who think that it will be accomplished by expelling the Palestinians, those who believe it will be by speaking together, and those who think it will come through implementing autonomy. The Intifadah rebelled against the existing situation and gave strength to the

PLO so that it would be able to lead the Palestinian people and to force the issue to a solution. A solution only for the West Bank and Gaza will not bring a solution to the region. The problem is a general Palestinian problem, and an authentic representative of the Palestinian people will accept a solution that will bind the entire people."

Who, for example? You are deeply divided, so who is the authentic leader you are speaking about who will be acceptable to the Palestinians as their representative?

"I am prepared to give you a name if you will tell me who will represent all the Israelis. For my part, it is enough that 'Arafat will have a mandate of the majority. Even George Bush was not elected by all the Americans, and Shamir does not represent even half the Israelis."

There are those who say that the Palestinians are not capable of raising a state with their own strength and that in any event they will be dependent on Israel.

"We cannot succeed without you? Then I have a suggestion, let's make a single state for the both of us, a binational state."

What character would a future state have?

"Democracy was once an Israeli success story. Today, Israelis can no longer boast of a democratic state, because such a state cannot rule over another people and deny them basic democratic rights. I think that, if a Palestinian state were to arise, it would do so not by the grace of one man or one group, but of the entire Palestinian people. No man will be able to say that it happened thanks to him and so he is the sole ruler. I assume that such a state will be democratic, and I promise you that I will fight to bring that about. From a physical point of view, I think that a Palestinian state needs to be part of a Palestinian-Jordanian confederation. The Palestinians do not want someone to force such a confederation upon them; rather, they want it to be a decision between two equals. But they see a confederation as necessary."

Because you need help from Jordan?

"Not help. We have relations and ties in all spheres of life, and to preserve them and the society on both sides of the river, we must build it so that it will not be attached to Jordan or to Israel."

Husayn's announcement did not disturb you?

"No. Behind the announcement were many motives and circumstances that I can understand. I assume that the Jordanians will be ready and willing to join a confederation."

What circumstances?

"Mainly, fear of the Jordanian right wing and the Sharon option. In addition, it flowed from frustration that the Americans had not convinced the Israelis to go to an international conference, and from Peres' failure to bring over the London agreement and to convince the Israelis of the necessity for an international peace conference. It is possible to add an economic reason. The situation in Jordan is grave and would be improved by cutting off the West Bank."

That is not an abandonment of the Palestinian people?

"They are not abandoning us. It is a natural development in the national struggle. The Palestinians, too, want to stress their unique national identity, that they have an independent existence and are not part of the Jordanian people. Some see this as an achievement of the Intifadah. We hope the Israelis will also understand this."

Have the Arabs of Israel abandoned your problems? After all, they did not realize all their potential in the recent elections. They were able to change the political map and did not do so.

"We will not judge the Arabs within the Green Line solely on the basis of the results of the Knesset elections. One must also take into account what has happened to those people since 1948. If we compare the results of the 12th Knesset elections with the results of the 11th, there appears to be development and an awakening within Arab society inside Israel. I assume that, in the future, they will be more sophisticated and will have more success."

To what do you attribute the results of the election in Israel?

"First of all, to the greater strength of the right."

What does that derive from?

"From the failure of the Labor Party to offer a substitute to the Israeli right, and its failed policy as a party that maneuvers and dodges without an unequivocal message. The whole time the Labor Party was in competition with the right, with the voices of the right, but never offered its own competing option."

Shim'on Peres did not sufficiently emphasize the issue of peace?

"No. He danced in the middle. He who dances in the middle always loses. Aside from that, it is impossible to ignore deeper causes within the Labor Party that are not political. Its image as an Ashkenazi party that has disappointed the Sephardis. All the large companies of the Histadrut are staffed by Ashkenazis, so that it is difficult for Sephardis to advance. That is what pushed them to Likud. I am not sure that the Eastern Jews are

Likudniks, they are simply disappointed with the Alignment. Therefore, it is not fair to say that the Labor Party failed only because Peres wanted peace. It was the totality of things."

What will be the results of a harder line in dealing with the Intifadah, as has been suggested by many in Likud who are trying to form the next government?

"I do not think it is possible to make things harder than they are now. What will they do? Kill more people? I think that the handling of the territories is very bad and cannot get worse. Let them try and we will see what happens. I think that will only pour oil on the fire. People will reach a point from which they will not be able to return. They will not be intimidated such that they will not find a solution to the problem. All these proposals will only complicate the situation. Even if the Likud does restore quiet to the territories by means of a tougher line, it will not be a real quiet, but only a temporary respite that will erupt even more violently."

Has the Intifadah achieved its goals?

"The achievements of the Intifadah in the last year are many times greater than the achievements of Palestinian activity during the past 25 years. All the money invested in Arab propaganda throughout the years did not accomplish one percent of what the Intifadah has achieved: national understanding, sympathy, an international awakening. All this because it is not violent and has not used weapons, it did not choose for itself the easy way."

For all that, there have been more than a few instances of violence.

"They have been isolated incidents carried out by individuals, not by the masses. In my opinion, they are not connected to the Intifadah. As for the incident in Jericho, I personally drafted the public statement condemning it, which many prominent Palestinians signed."

Did the incident hurt you?

"I think so. I want a clean struggle, without victims."

JORDAN

Conference Discusses Solutions to Unemployment
44000249b Amman JORDAN TIMES in English
6 Dec 88 p 3

[Text] Irbid (Petra, J.T.)—A solution for Jordan's unemployment problem lies in stimulating the national economy in a manner that would enable the various economic sectors to absorb all able-bodied workers willing to contribute to the construction of their country, His Royal Highness Crown Prince Hasan said here Monday.

Under the present circumstances, it is imperative on all sectors and private individuals to conduct a speedy

revision of the causes of behavioral unemployment and try to address the social attitude so as to pave the way for a real change in the social stand vis-a-vis manual work, the Prince said in an address read out on his behalf at the opening of a conference on unemployment and the utilization of economic resources in Jordan by Mr Ibrahim 'Iz al-Din, President of the Civil Service Commission (CSC).

In our age, the Prince said, "numerous changes affect economic situations in advanced and developing countries alike. A trend that definitely affects labor markets, creating problems of unemployment. Jordan is now going through this process of change and is therefore determined to confront and deal with it in a firm and proper manner," Prince Hasan noted.

Referring to the government's recent financial, economic and monetary measures, Prince Hasan said they are bound to deal with problems related to unemployment and aim to encourage the private sector to make more investments.

"Such measures are bound to revitalize the economic sectors, create job opportunities and absorb more workers," Prince Hasan noted.

The government is determined to create an appropriate atmosphere and suitable conditions for people to embark on manual work and production processes. A policy adopted by other nations and based on the value of manual work, especially in industry and agriculture, Prince Hasan added.

Prince Hasan referred to non-Jordanian Arab workers who have been employed on manual jobs in the Kingdom, and said that they hold college degrees and school certificates, proving that they acquired culture and education but at the same time appreciate manual work.

We are invited to create a system that respects work, and we are called on to examine the causes of unemployment which mostly stem from individual and social attitude, the Regent said.

"As the country is now involved in a comprehensive revision of its educational policies, the Ministry of Higher Education is directing its attention to training at community colleges in a manner that would provide the maximum benefit for the community and the needs of the national development," Prince Hasan pointed out.

At the same time, he said, the Ministry of Labour is reorganizing the system of its employment offices to control employment at the private sector's businesses. "The government is intensifying its efforts through contacts with other Arab countries to absorb Jordanian workers in their medical, engineering and educational organizations."

All these measures, he said, are "bound to contain unemployment but a real effort at the national level is indeed required so that the problem can be dealt with effectively."

Prince Hasan said that a modern state's concern extends beyond providing security, justice and services to the public to providing effective systems that can deal with new developments and challenges.

The conference at Yarmuk University, which is being attended by specialists from universities in Jordan, Egypt, Lebanon and Iraq, as well as representatives of the ministries and other government departments, will review 19 working papers dealing with unemployment and means of dealing with the problem.

University Acting President Fu'ad Shaykh Salim delivered a speech at the outset of the session, stressing that unemployment has become one of the most chronic problems that impede national economy, and it was hoped that specialists will join forces and come up with a formula of solutions and proposals to help reduce its consequences.

Popular Committees Collect 1.2 Million for Intifadah

44000248 Amman JORDAN TIMES in English
4 Dec 88 p 3

[Article by Najwa Najar, JORDAN TIMES Staff Reporter]

[Text] Amman—One million, two hundred and twenty one thousand and one hundred and thirty dinars (JD1,221,130) have been collected by the Popular Committee for the Intifada in Jordan for the families of the wounded and martyrs in the occupied territories.

The individual contributions and funds raised through a few charitable functions have helped 2,569 families of the wounded and 226 families of martyrs, said Dr Mamduh Abadi, head of the popular committee.

"It is not only the money but also the community effort to support the intifada which is important," said Abadi who is also the president of the Jordan Medical Association.

Whereas the bulk of the money has been donated by banks in Jordan—the Arab Bank topping the list with a contribution of JD100,000—individuals have tried within their capacity to raise money.

Abadi cited following example: a store owner in Karak places a collection box in his store and customers put in loose change or more according to their financial status.

To date there are popular committee branches in Amman, Irbid, Salt, al-Zarqa', Karak and Mafraq,

headed by the mayors of these municipalities. Each branch has between 15 to 20 working members.

Initially, the idea of such committees was introduced by the Professional Associations Union. "Under normal circumstances the people in the occupied territories need help, so now with the intifada they need even more help," said Abadi.

Shortly after the intifada began the Professional Associations Union presented the proposal to 'Abd al-Majid Shuman, head of the Arab Bank. After gaining the approval of the government and the right to have the donations tax free, the executive committee—composed of the heads of the banks, chambers of commerce, chambers of trade and industry, woman's organization, labor, medical and lawyers unions—held their first meeting in January 1987.

"These personalities were chosen because they represent large segments of the population, plus they are influential in collecting large sums of money," said Abadi.

Most of the committee's work was concentrated on banks, unions, and the chambers of trade and industry. However, the committee found donations from some sectors—historically known for their involvement—not as forthcoming in their donations. Abadi pointed to the members of the chamber of trade and commerce, saying, "they were not up to the standard we hoped."

Nevertheless, the work of the committees was quickly publicized in the occupied territories—mostly verbally. The needy Palestinian families receive the money in Amman. They must approach the Professional Associations Union building and present the proper documents and photocopy of the passport, as proof that there has been a wounded victim or a martyr in their family.

Since some of the families cannot afford to come to Jordan, they can send their documents and papers with other Palestinians crossing the bridge. "We are convinced that the money is reaching deserving families," he said.

During an executive committee meeting held Saturday, its members reviewed the past year's activities and decided to embark on new ways to collect donations due to prevailing circumstances.

As Abadi put it: "When we started we did not expect the intifada to continue this long but now all indicators show that it will continue indefinitely. We will continue our support and we have asked our members to donate more."

OMAN

Official Discusses 1989 Fiscal Budget, Deficit

JN0101164289 Manama WAKH in English
1600 GMT 1 Jan 89

[Text] Muscat, Jan 1 (GNA)—Omani Deputy Prime Minister for Financial and Economic Affairs Qays 'Abd al- Mun'im al-Zawawi has announced a 1209 million Omani rial fiscal budget for 1989 and projected a deficit of 408 million Omani riyals [ORS].

The total expenditure of the sultanate is anticipated to reach 1716 [as received] recording an increase of 4 percent compared to the 1988 spending, he added.

In an interview with the Omani News Agency he said the current spending is expected to drop by 3.5 percent in 1989 pointing out that capital spending will rise by 363 million ORS.

Some 163 million Omani riyals have been allocated for development projects to be carried out this year al-Zawawi said. Close to 75 percent of the revenues for the current fiscal budget will come from oil returns and 25 percent from current income returns, he added.

Replying to a question al-Zawawi said a net amount of 70 million ORS has been borrowed to be used in backing up capital spending borrowings are made only to finance development's projects, he added. [sentence as received]

QATAR

Accomplishments in Industry, Agriculture, Utilities

44040172 Doha AL-'ARAB in Arabic 29 Nov 88 p 6

[Article: "The Cabinet Secretariat General Issues a Booklet Dealing With the Country's Domestic Achievements in 1988: Great Development in the Industrial Field"]

[Excerpts] The Cabinet Secretariat issued a booklet in which it deals with the country's domestic achievements during the lunar year 1408 (the Christian year 1988), on the occasion of the inception of the convening of the 17th ordinary meeting of the consultative assembly yesterday.

The booklet deals with the areas of industry, agriculture, education, university activity, social affairs, development projects, and roads.

It also deals with the areas of public health, communications, transportation, electricity, water, information, municipality affairs, and religious affairs.

In the industrial area, the Qatar Iron and Steel Company (Qasco) maintained its production performance level, which witnessed only minor fluctuations in the past

Christian year in comparison with 1986 when its production of sponge iron declined just 1 percent and steel ingots by approximately 3 percent. Conversely, its production of reinforcement bars increased 2 percent.

Qasco is still operating at an actual production capacity which greatly exceeds design production capacity since this rate has risen from 150 percent in 1986 to approximately 153 percent last year, thus recording an increase of 1.7 percent.

Qasco is considered an internationally-recognized firm in the area of operating competence and use of design capacity. In quantity, Qasco's sales of bars witnessed a 1.4 percent increase last year over the preceding year. However, sales conversely witnessed a decline of 1.7 percent in value.

The company's sales of bars in the local market registered a large increase of 22 percent last year, while the quantity of bars manufactured witnessed only a minor decline of no more than 0.3 percent.

With respect to the Qatar Chemical Fertilizer Company (Qafco), its excellent performance in ammonia and urea production last year continued and it registered record new figures which exceeded design capacity by high rates. Ammonia sales volumes for 1987 rose, reaching new record figures; however, urea sales volumes for the same year declined by nearly 100,000 tons.

Although the company made great efforts to reduce production costs last year, ammonia and urea prices continued their decline on world markets, which inflicted losses on the company.

With respect to the Qatar Petrochemicals Company Ltd (Qapco), its production of ethylene reached the highest rate since the commencement of operations, amounting to 262,687 metric tons, 93.8 percent of design capacity. The company's production of polyethylene came to 173,891 tons, 124 percent of design capacity. Sulphur output registered a record figure since the start of production in the plant, coming to 48,211 tons, 104.8 percent of design capacity.

It is possible to say that production last year recorded a perceptible development at high rates in design capacity, which put it in a position distinct from previous years. As a result, ethylene sales last year registered an increase in terms of quantity of 24 percent over the preceding year. Although the quantities of polyethylene sold registered a decline of 15.36 percent, the per-ton price registered a tangible increase which resulted in making up for the rate of decline in the quantity of this material sold. With respect to sulphur, prices dropped internationally, leading to the occurrence of a 27.72 percent drop in sales.

Concerning the Qatar National Cement Industry Company's production of cement, quicklime, and clinker,

these declined by varying rates. Market requirements and demand are now governing production operations. This situation will also continue in the future. All the company's products are marketed on the local market.

With respect to fuel and the National Oil Distribution Company's fuel production activity, the company is continuing its efforts in raising competence in the use of productive capacity, but in view of the failure to complete the construction of the installations related to petroleum product export and the pipelines linking these installations to the oil refinery, the company is now producing what is necessary to cover local consumption and quantities of distillate and diesel which are not consumed locally are exported.

Petroleum product consumption increased last year by 10.77 percent over the previous year, and the value of total sales increased by 24.51 percent as a result of the increase in production and the rise in prices of some materials. It is expected that the rate of use of productive capacity, which came to 53.28 percent last year, will rise following completion of the facilities bearing on the export of products. The company is continuing the development and improvement of its product specifications so that they will be acceptable in foreign markets and able to compete with international products.

In the area of light industries, more than 15 industrial permits were granted last year. A number of these [industries] have been completed and have started production, and the remainder are still under construction. These plants include plastic bags, oil and water dyes, clothes, heat, sound and light insulating glass, boxes, electrical equipment, motor and lubricating oils, and household furniture.

There is a study on the possibility of building an industrial area for heavy industries in the north of Qatar, a study on the use of gypsum deposits to process gypsum plaster, and other studies regarding a number of industrial projects.

The Agricultural Field

Last year the area of reclaimed land in the sheep raising farm in Abu Samra came to 780 donums, distributed among a number of crops and pastures such as barley, bersim, and so forth in addition to about 21,000 trees and seedlings in the form of dates, acacias, eucalyptus, casuarina, and so forth. Sheep last year numbered more than 10,000 head, an increase of 5.5 percent over the preceding year.

Work regarding the performance of agricultural tests and applied research continued at the government experimental farm in Rawdat al-Furs so that benefit could be derived from their results. Work also continued on the production of vegetable and fruit plants and seedlings for afforestation and wind barriers. Last year 2.25 million vegetable plants, more than 100,000 fruit tree seedlings,

and more than 250,000 seedlings for afforestation, wind barriers, and decoration were produced and 25,000 lemon and guava seedlings were distributed.

In the area of veterinary services, the center and the veterinary clinics in the various areas of the country are meeting the needs of livestock resource herds in the country for treatment, surgical, and preventive immunization services.

Last year the agricultural services center in the al-Shahaniyah area in the middle of the country was completed and work began there with the performance of agricultural services for agricultural producers in the municipalities of al-Shahaniyah, al-Rayyan, al-Gharafah, al-Jumayliyah, Dukhan, and al-Wukayr. The number of farms in these areas is more than 250.

In the field of afforestation, the following areas have been planted with trees so far: the north road, where there are six stretches alongside the road, most of which are planted with date palms (about 25,000), irrigated by the system of fountains; the Wadi al-Nabat near Dawar al-Rayyan, which has various trees irrigated with treated water; the Doha-Dukhan road, on which there are about 30 small stretches planted with trifolium and palm trees, irrigated by tank trucks; Musay'id, in which most of the trees are trifolium and date palm; and the shaghb [a kind of plant] and trifolium stands near old al-Rayyan, in which there are date palm and trifolium trees.

Among the investment projects, which include the Qatar Poultry Production Company and the Arab-Qatar Dairy Production Company, the former company has finished handing over all the new productive units and has embarked on their operation. Attainment of productive capacity is aimed at 50 million eggs and 3.5 million edible chickens a year. With respect to the latter company, the machinery and equipment that are needed for farming the land with green fodder have been imported, and execution of the civil work bearing on the milch cow enclosures has started. The company's farm has the aim of absorbing 1,200 milch cows above and beyond establishing a dairy plant in accordance with the most modern technical methods.

In the area of fish resources, work was started on the project to place fish in Qatar waters; this has the aim of ascertaining the indicators of the anticipated technical and economic feasibility of raising fish in the waters of Qatar. Safi fish have been raised in pools and have been studied from the technical standpoint in addition to the performance of a survey of the Qatar coasts to learn about the most appropriate locations suitable for the project site. [passage omitted]

The road projects carried out last year include West Gulf Bloc 6800-S; the Salwa road in the industrial area; the main West Gulf road; the al-Rayyan-al-Mana'i road; the Doha airport (the new coast); the entry and exit roads from Khalifah Bridge; the fifth belt road up to the linkup

to the central market; stage three of the northwest road; al-Khawr; the four-lane north road; the al-Rayyan-al-Mana'i automobile sales site road; the al-Rayyan road to the linkup to the Corniche Road; stage one of the south al-Najdah road; West Gulf Bloc 6800, stage 2A; West Gulf Bloc 900, site A extension; the roads linking the belt roads and the third and fourth [roads]; branch roads in Khalifah city/Fariq Ibn 'Umran; West Gulf Bloc 1200-1300; phase one of Arab Gulf Bloc 401; phase three of Arab Gulf Bloc 6800; al-Zubarah-north city; and numerous others.

With respect to the sewer projects which have been carried out during the past year, there are the al-Jadhibiyah lines; the pressure for pump station 12; the al-Jadhibiyah lines and pressure for pump station 40; miscellaneous small works on the sewer system in Doha city; a number of projects for hookups of houses to the general sewer system in various areas; the Khalifah City sewers and connections of houses to the system; diverse sewer works including pump stations, passageways, and lines; the al-Khawr City sewers, phase three; the al-Kharib sewer system (pump and treatment stations); a project for the distribution system for treated water to the road connecting the fourth belt road and the traffic police road; lines for treated water from the West Doha sewer water treatment plant; the treated water distribution system in Musay'id; a pump station for the sewers and the sewer system to the Nudco company in Musay'id; expansion of the south Doha sewer water treatment system, and so forth. [passage omitted]

Communications and Transportation

The Qatar General Telecommunications Organization realized great achievements in operation, production, and revenues during the past year in spite of the difficulties standing in its way, especially in the areas of organization, services, and development of the communications system which were dictated by the circumstances of the stage of transition from the Post and Telecommunications Company to the organization.

With respect to the telephone departments in operation, the number of these departments increased perceptibly last year to 127 for Indian Ocean countries, where there had been 110, and 94 for the Arab countries, where there had been 69. They increased by two departments to the Atlantic, up from 89, and came to 56 Saudi microwave departments, where there had been 48.

The total television programs and news received from satellites during the past year increased, and these were matched by an increase in the total transmitted from Qatar via such satellites as exist over the Indian Ocean and the Atlantic Ocean, Arabsat, and the Saudi microwave [system].

Telex, telegraph, facsimile, and telephone services increased tangibly during the past year. With respect to automobile telephone service, the organization intends

to expand this system in the course of a year so that its total capacity may reach 4,500 lines. One should bear in mind that its current capacity is 3,000 lines.

The organization has taken charge of completing the al-Khawr city electronic exchange project, whose total capacity comes to about 10,000 lines; 4,350 lines were operating in the first phase to serve al-Khawr, al-Ghuwayriyah, al-Dhukhayrah, Umm Qarn, and the North City. The organization provided communications service to the general international information system through the Doha Pack Service which enables it to be connected to the main information system to take advantage of the computer in the process of gathering and summarizing data and information in addition to electronic mail services.

Direct international communications services have been opened with an additional number of countries such as Bulgaria, Iran, Mauritania, the Sudan, Canada, Syria, Morocco, Norway, South Yemen, and French Guiana. Thus, Qatar is linked to 31 countries by direct telephone departments.

Electricity

In the area of power generation and desalination, consultants have been assigned to offer consulting services for the third phase of development, which includes the construction of two desalination units at the Abu Fantas generating and desalination station, each producing 5 million gallons of potable water a day, in addition to the installation of further electric generators operating on gas turbines at the two main South Doha and al-Wajabah stations. These new units will enter the electricity and water production stage toward the end of 1990.

With respect to the al-Karbanah unit, which is considered an integrated part of the water treatment unit in the Ra's Abu Fantas station, the process of constructing it is now under way in accordance with the plan set out for it. When it is constructed, the water this plant produces will be of high-quality. It is expected that the operation of this unit will start in 1989.

The highest electricity load to be recorded this year, up to 2 August, came to 925 megawatts. Electric power generated during the past 12 months came to 4,480,392,510 kw hours.

The works to be carried out in 1988-89 include the offer of tenders for the construction of seven new transmission stations, the development of preventive methods and equipment for many main stations, expansion of the communications and control system so that the new stations may be connected to the control center in al-Nu'ayjah, the installation of a complete system for washing electrical lines [as published] in a number of stations and the construction of overland lines among a number of main stations.

In the area of lighting, a number of roads, traffic circles, and locations in Doha and its suburbs, and some areas close to it have been provided with lighting. Lighting will be provided for an additional number of roads, traffic circles, and locations in a number of areas of the capital and villages close to it and others in various locations in the country. The maximum electricity load for the new year is expected to be 1,010 megawatts.

Water

In the area of desalination, total water production for 1987-88 came to the equivalent of 73.5 million tons. Average daily water production came to 47.67 million gallons. Peak water production occurred on 15 May 1988, coming to 57.5 million gallons.

The country's total storage capacity was 135 million gallons. Current storage capacity is adequate for a period of 2.56 days in a peak week. Operation was delayed on the third phase of the al-Gharafah tank, which will help raise storage capacity by 24 million gallons. The completion of this project will take place in the first quarter of the coming Christian year.

A tank with a capacity of 4 million gallons will be completed in the city of al-Khawr and another with a similar capacity in North City, along with the West gulf tanks with a capacity of 30 million gallons, in the coming Christian year.

With respect to elevated tanks, the al-Wakrah and al-Mathaf elevated tanks have been put into operation within the water distribution system, and elevated tank 8, close to the Ramada Inn, and elevated tank 11 in al-Rayyan will be put into operation as part of the distribution system in Doha.

Bank Balances Reviewed

44040171 Doha AL-'ARAB in Arabic 19 Nov 88 p 8

[Text] Banks operating in Qatar had balances of 19,894,394,000 Qatari riyals through the end of October of this year.

The monthly bulletin of the monetary agency gave the following breakdown:

- 1. Cash in riyals and foreign currencies: 59,010,000 riyals
- 2. Bank deposits with the Qatar Monetary Agency: 343,747,000 riyals
- 3. Deposits with Qatari banks in domestic and foreign currencies: 196,018,000 riyals
- 4. Deposits with overseas banks in domestic and foreign currencies: 4,129,453,000 riyals
- 5. Deposits with headquarters or branches abroad domestic and foreign currencies: 3,250,995,000 riyals
- 6. Credit facilities extended by banks: 9,545,075,000 riyals of which 4,552,229,000 riyals in current debit accounts, 368,479,000 riyals in commercial paper

- discounts, and 4,624,367,000 in loans and credit
- 7. Investments: 1,548,568,000 riyals of which 137,626,000 riyals invested domestically and 1,410,942,000 riyals invested abroad
- 8. Fixed assets, real estate, furniture, and equipment: 168,466,000 riyals
- 9. Other assets: 653,062,000 riyals

The Bulletin of the Qatar Monetary Agency gave the following breakdown of bank liabilities through the end of last October:

- 1. Individual deposits in local currency: 7,782,638,000 riyals of which 2,328,181,000 riyals are in demand deposits and 5,454,457,000 riyals in savings and time deposits
- 2. Individual deposits in foreign currencies: the equivalent of 3,938,396,000 riyals of which 1,653,572,000 riyals in demand deposits and 2,284,824,000 riyals in savings and time deposits
- 3. Bank deposits in local currency: 324,547,000 riyals
- 4. Bank deposits in foreign currencies: the equivalent of 1,691,868,000 riyals
- 5. Deposits by the Qatar Monetary Agency: 4,503,000 riyals
- 6. Borrowings in local currency from banks in Qatar and abroad: 149,881,000 riyals
- 7. Borrowings in foreign currencies from banks in Qatar and overseas: the equivalent of 1,526,604,000 riyals
- 8. Account and credit security in cash: 61,390,000 riyals.
- 9. Capital accounts: 1,725,371,000 riyals
- 10. Allocations: 1,709,554,000 riyals
- 11. Other liabilities: 979,642,000 riyals

SAUDI ARABIA

Revised ARAMCO Figures Show Larger Oil Reserves

44040218 London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic
20 Jan 89 p 42

[Text] The Saudi oil company ARAMCO put out a new estimate of the kingdom's exploitable crude oil reserves, placing them at 252.38 billion barrels. This estimate exceeds by 51 percent the estimate of approximately 167.4 billion barrels which it announced last year. Accordingly, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia possesses one-quarter of the world's known oil reserves.

It is generally accepted that Saudi oil reserves serve as an important factor in the direction and fate of world oil policies. It is also accepted that the kingdom is the number-one oil producing country within OPEC and the number-one oil exporting country in the world. In spite of the international oil industry's contentment with having oil reserves in the kingdom exceed the officially announced estimates, the kingdom used to prefer to maintain a degree of caution in the estimation of its proven reserves, despite knowledge of their enormity.

Thus, international oil circles were surprised not only by the large percentage of the increase in the estimation of the size of Saudi oil reserves, but also by the timing of the announcement. American oil industry sources in Houston expressed their belief that the Saudi government requested ARAMCO to re-evaluate the estimates of its oil reserves in a more realistic manner in order to thwart the attempts of some OPEC countries to play a larger role in the establishment of the oil organization's policies based upon new discoveries which increase their oil reserves and increase their leverage within the organization.

SUDAN

Al-Mahdi Appoints Two New Regional Deputy Governors

45000095 Khartoum AL-USBU' 30 Dec 88 p 8

[Text] Prime Minister al-Sadiq al-Mahdi has appointed Babakr Daqnah deputy governor of the Eastern Region and Dr. Majdhub al-Khalifah deputy governor of the Northern Region. They took over their assignments from the two former regional governors yesterday.

Source Accuses Two Arab Countries of Inciting Instability

45000096 Khartoum AL-SIYASAH in Arabic
30 Dec 88 p 1

[Report by 'Awad 'Umar]

[Excerpt] A knowledgeable source has revealed that two Arab countries which are experienced in operations which divert gatherings of the people toward unrest in the country are preparing to topple the country's governing authority through conspicuous interference in the affairs of Sudanese rule. The purpose is to end the democratic regime and break the back of the moderation that Sudan follows in its politics and foreign relations.

The source affirmed that the masses of the loyal, patriotic Sudanese people are aware of these parties aiming to force Sudan into a commitment which is in their interest and infringes on Sudan's generosity. The source added that the security authorities had been keeping an eye on these parties.

In this respect, informants have told AL-SIYASAH that many foreign diplomatic offices and some suspicious organizations had been surveilling the citizens' processions via hand-held radios and that some of the citizens had chased their cars. [passage omitted]

TUNISIA

Economic Progress Reviewed Since 1987 Reform

45000092 Limassol MEMO in English Dec 88 pp 14-17

[Article by Dr Mohsen Toumi: "The Tunisian Economy 1 Year After the November 1987 Reform"]

[Text] Tunisia celebrated last month the first anniversary of President Zein el-Abidin Bin Ali's arrival to power. All observers agree that this country has gone

during this past year through deep political reforms including: abolition of the system of presidency for life and the automatic succession of the prime minister; recognition of opposition political parties; elaboration of a new press law; release of all political prisoners regardless of their adherence. Political experts and observers also agree that these bold and realistic reforms will allow Tunisia to live a real democracy, the basis of equality and modernism, and will consolidate its cultural background at the same time. We all know that equality and political modernism need and underlying foundation that can reinforce them and avoid their abolition. This foundation can only be materialized in an economic and social reform. This leads us to the following questions:—Has Tunisia Undergone an economic reform at the same time as its political reform?—Can economic conditions change as quickly as political conditions and laws?

Economic Conditions Between 1987-1988

Indications of growth in 1987 were much better than expected despite the difficulties Tunisia had to face at that time. The growth rate reached 5.5 percent due to good agricultural yields (adequate rainfalls), high tourism and export earnings (exports of foodstuffs, textile and fertilizers). It should be noted that the devaluation of the national currency by 30 percent together with the decline of the U.S. dollar exchange rate had positive effects on the Tunisian economy due to their influence on exports, debt service and import prices.

Local consumption, however, achieved a growth rate of 1.1 percent only which led to the slowdown of local market oriented production activities. Investments were decreased at the same time by 10 percent which had adverse consequences on employment. Finally, imports remained at their 1986 level while the current deficit of the balance of payments registered a relative decrease (216 million dollars in 1987). According to these facts, the Tunisian government concentrated its efforts in 1988 on boosting the country's economy according to a program based on the following:

- Increasing local consumption by increasing wages.
- Increasing and promoting private investment by writing off some corporate debts, exempting certain activities from taxes, facilitating lending operations (lower interest rates on loans) and simplifying monetary operations related to import and export.

Tunisian officials confirm that these measures will allow the country to deal with the difficulties it has faced during the current year, namely droughts and locust invasions which hit grain production in particular. This production has reached 20 million quintals in 1987 compared to 2 million only this year, that is 10 percent only of the previous year's production which of course had adverse consequences on the balance of trade. It should be noted, however, that the economic situation by sector does not correspond to the financial situation.

While the deficit in the balance of foreign trade is \$800 million for example, we see that the deficit in the balance of current payments increased only slightly due to export earnings, workers' remittances and the opening of the borders between Tunisia and Libya last May. Libyan tourists spent for example \$120 million approximately in Tunisia within 15 days only.

Basic Balances

Available data about basic balances highlight several factors. The most important are the following:

- 1) Although the annual rate of the population increase (2.5 percent) has lately witnessed a relative decrease, yet it is still higher than the annual GDP increase rate of 2 percent only.
- 2) The agricultural sector accounted for 16 percent of GDP in 1987 while 35 percent of the population worked in this sector which implied a reduced productivity. If we look at the results of the first 7 months of 1988, we shall see that agricultural production decreased to 15 percent compared to 17.5 percent in 1987. To satisfy Tunisians' food requirements and avoid the increase of basic products' prices, the budget registered a deficit increase of 10 percent between 1987 and 1988 with 500 million Tunisian dinar in 1987 and 550 million Tunisian dinar in 1988.
- 3) Crude oil lost its importance among Tunisian exports for three main reasons: First: production decreased from 5.41 million tons in 1985 to 4.8 million approximately during the current year. Second: local consumption of oil products to meet industrial, agricultural and urban needs increased reducing thereby exports of these products. Third: the price of oil decreased to \$10/barrel.
- 4) The Tunisian debt increased from 3180 million dinar in 1985 to 4540 million in 1987 and is estimated today according to informed sources at 4800 million. It reached 58 percent of GDP in 1988 compared to 57 percent in 1987 and 59 percent in 1986. The annual debt service remained stable at 26.4 percent in 1987 and 26 percent in 1988. Although this stability reflects a positive awareness, the control of the development of Tunisia's indebtedness remains a critical matter.

Industrial countries are still Tunisia's most important trade partners.

All these difficulties can be further clarified by analyzing economic production by sector.

Sectorial Production

The Tunisian economy is diversified with no dominating product or sector although oil was quite important at the beginning of the 1980's and tourism earnings are substantial today. The equilibrium is due to several reasons, the most important is the fact that there is no raw

material of special importance in Tunisia or in world markets. Aware of this, Tunisian officials designed plans aiming at diversifying their economy to avoid any dependence on one product or one sector.

Diversification of production has led to a diversification of exports. In fact, six sectors are involved in the Tunisian foreign trade. The first is the food sector (fishes, fruits, olive oil and liquor). This sector's total value increased from 169 million dinar in 1986 to 220.3 million dinar in 1987.

The relative importance of fruits and liquor decreased slightly in 1987 in favour of fishes and olive oil. The second sector is the energy sector (to be discussed below) followed by the third sector (phosphate), the fourth sector (fabric and leather products), the fifth sector (mechanical industry) and the sixth sector (manufactured industry). The volume of the latter increased from 32.1 thousand tons in 1986 to 33.8 thousand tons in 1987. Its value also increased from 1387.5 million dinar in 1986 to 1770 million dinar in 1987 (a relative increase of 27.56 percent). Furthermore, the tourism sector can be considered a seventh export sector. Observers agree it has achieved great results since 1962 when Tunisians decided to meet this industry's needs for investments, modern technology and skilled experts. Today, Tunisian nationals whether in the public or private sector have gained these skills and technologies allowing their country to increase its accommodation capacity from 4,077 beds in 1962 to 100,500 in 1987. Tunisia was also able to receive 1,874,734 tourists in 1987 compared to 52,275 in 1962. During 1988 the number of tourists visiting Tunisia has exceeded the forecasts (20 percent relative increase) to reach 2,239,490 with this sector's earnings increasing from 550 million dinar to 800 million according to preliminary estimates. It should be noted here that the number of Arab tourists visiting Tunisia was more than 1 million (mostly from Libya) which constitutes an economic and cultural event of great importance.

Foreign Trade

The increase in the Tunisian budget deficit in 1988 (257.9 million dinars) and the reduced rates of coverage also account in fact, for a higher economic activity, if we consider that the total value of exports increased by 12.9 percent and if we also take into account that the reason for the increased value of imports is not only inflated individual consumption, but also the fact the industrial requirements of equipment, raw materials, manufactured and semi-manufactured products and technology were met. This can be seen from the following analysis of exports and imports.

Exports

The increase of the price of phosphate exports has allowed Tunisia to face the economic difficulties resulting from declined oil earnings which in 1988 accounted for 17 percent of total export revenues with a decrease of

26 percent between 1987 and 1988. This decrease was in fact a record decline since 1973. Fortunately, the prices of phosphoric acid increased from 106.2 dinar per ton to 147.1 dinar and industrial exports also increased from 36.4 million dinar to 62.6 million dinar due to the successful sale of such Tunisian products as electrical appliances, control and security devices, railways wagons, leather products and textiles in world markets.

Imports

Foodstuffs make up the largest part of imports which increased from 158 million dinar in 1987 to 248.2 million dinar in 1988 (a relative increase of 57 percent). Drought and locust invasion are the main reasons for this. The latter caused the import of 591.3 thousand tons of soft wheat (63.6 million dinar) compared to 378.8 thousands tons in 1987, that is, an increase of 56 percent in the imported volume and of 105 percent in its value. Tunisia also suffered a shortage of sugar and had to import 121.3 thousand tons this year compared to 113.6 thousand tons last year. It should also be noted that the increase in the value of sugar imports (23.1 million dinar compared to 17.7 million) has exceeded the increase in the imported volume (30.5 percent compared to 6.8 percent). This is mainly due to the increase of sugar prices in world markets which led to a general deficit in the Tunisian food balance of 90.2 million dinar compared to 37 million dinar in 1987, a 144 percent in this deficit. The Tunisian government liberated imports of manufactured and semi-manufactured products despite the deficit increase. During the current year, imports increased by 29 percent. In fact, the Tunisian adherence to the principles of free trade led to the increase of imports (volume and value) in many fields such as trucks, large cars, industrial motors, etc. with an increase from 282.4 million dinar in 1987 to 324.7 million dinar in 1988 (relative increase of 22 percent). Imports also included consumption goods such as individual cars, fabric, etc. with a total value of more than 402.4 million dinar in 1987 compared to 512.6 million during the current year (a 27.4 percent increase).

Fundamental Questions

Statistics show strong points and weak points in the Tunisian economy. There are also some contradictions which raise many questions about the prospects of the Tunisian economy.

Table 1—Basic Data

Area	164 sq km
Population (in 1988)	7.75 million (estimation)
Density of population	47 persons per sq Km
Life expectancy at birth (estimation in 1988)	65 years
Rural population (percent)	48 percent
Urban population (percent)	52 percent

Table 1—Basic Data

Labor force	
Annual growth of population (in 1988)	2.6 percent
Population expected in 1990	8 million
Population expected in 2000	10 million
GDP per capita (1987)	U.S.\$1261
GNP (per capita) in 1987 (estimation)	U.S.\$1230
Average annual growth rate of GNP per capita (1965-1986)	3.8 percent
Average annual rate of inflation (1980-1986)	8.9 percent

Source: Data from World Bank. Work Development REport 1988. Banque Francaise du Commerce Extérieur. Institut National de la Statistique (Tunisia) and estimations of MEMO.

Table 2—External Balances in U.S.\$ million

	1985	1986	1987	1988*
Imports (C.I.F.)	2567	2698	2770	3100
Exports (F.o.B)	1700	1763	2133	2300
Trade balance (percent) CIF-/Fob rate	-867	-935	-637	-800
Balance of Current payment	-588	-619	-216	-210
Foreign exchange reserves	232.7	305.3	525.5	394.2
External Debt (in millions of dinars)	3180	4150	4540	
External debt as percentage of GDP	46 percent	59 percent	57 percent	
External debt service as percentage of current revenues	21.6 percent	26.9 percent	26.4 percent	
Middle price of U.S.\$ in dinars	0.83	0.79	0.83	0.81

(February)

(March)

*Partial data

Source: Banque Francaise du Commerce Extérieur

1) The food problem. The seventh development plan (1987-1991) allocates 2000 million dinar to the agricultural sector, 19.2 percent of the total approved investments, and attaches great importance to water resources for which 36 percent of agricultural investments were allocated. Tunisian authorities have also undertaken additional measures as of November 1987 to develop

this sector among which: a new investment schedule in agriculture and maritime fishing (as of April 1988), establishment of an agency for the promotion of agricultural investment and a bank for agricultural development, writing off the debts of 100 a thousand farmers, establishment of a solidarity fund to face natural disasters promotion of scientific research, exempting agricultural production from taxes. Although these measures constitute positive steps, yet questions can be raised about their efficiency in solving the problems of agriculture in Tunisia. As far as the lending operations are concerned, we find for example that most loans are granted to larger farmers (30 percent of Tunisian farmers) while small farmers (70 percent) receive very little. The hope is that the new banking establishments specialized in agriculture will allow the latter to receive more loans.

The development of agriculture can be achieved by increasing the surface of arable land, 32 percent in Tunisia (1), but the possibility of doing so is limited. This is why the increase of productivity should be emphasized. Productivity is low for the time being (15 quintal/hectare) but can be boosted by using fertilizers and adequate modern machinery, using underground water and constructing dams (2), protecting arable land and environment, increasing irrigated areas in addition to the improvement of the conditions of life in rural areas, providing rural population with education and professional training with special care to rural women.

Table 3—The Main Productions (1986-1987)

Products	1986	1987	Trend*
1. Agriculture			
Food grains	605	1895.5	313
Olive oil	114	80	70
Citrus fruit	252	250	99
Date	62	68.8	111
Alfa	38	67.5	178
Sugar-beet	203	305.4	150
Flesh	212.1	213.35	100
Fishing production	1070.4	1430.58	134
2. Mining and energy			
Electric power	3.75	4.16	107
(billions of Kw/h)			
Oil (millions of tons)	5.25	5.00	95
Gaz (million of m ³)	373	319	85
Iron (ore, in 10 ³ tons)	310	291	94
Lead (concentrated, 10 ³ tons)	3.1	3.4	101
Zinc (concentrated 10 ³ tons)	8.2	10.7	130
Phosphate (10 ³ tons)	5800	6200	107
3. Manufacturing			
Simple super-phosphates (10 ³ tons)	36	31	86
Treble super-phosphates (10 ³ tons)	957	999	104

Table 3—The Main Productions (1986-1987)

Products	1986	1987	Trend*
Phosphoric acid (10 ³ tons)	572	593	103
Cement (10 ³ tons)	2962	3215	109
Cars	3470	2010	58
Truck	1790	1690	94
Bus	200	220	110
Tractor	1620	330	20
TV	83350	58460	70
Alfa pulp (10 ³ tons)	17.2	17.9	104
Textile	91.5	UN	
Shoes (10 ³ pairs)	27486	UN	
Morocco-Dressing (Unities)	13458	UN	

*1986 = basis 100

Source: Memo (date from Institute National des Statistiques, Tunis)

Geographical Distribution

It is clear now that the main reason for the failure of development plans in the Third World is the fact that they are limited to time. This is an important mistake as the place should also be planned. In Tunisia, development plans are not equilibrated yet as most industrial projects are established either on the coast or near large cities. The state as well as a businessmen in the private sector are responsible for this phenomenon as can be seen in the files of the Tunisian Agency for the Promotion of Investments. Eighty-five percent of projects submitted to this agency are too be established on the coast. The problem of geographical distribution involves another important problem namely the one of infrastructures: the distribution of electricity and drinking water, providing the rural population with health care and education facilities, agricultural extension, professional training, road, sea and air transportation. This problem requires the central government to delegate some of its powers to local authorities and administrations and also to take the needs of underdeveloped areas into consideration.

3) The problem of public establishments. This problem was raised in Tunisia a few years ago when these establishments had huge budget deficits. The World Bank and the IMF insistence on the necessity of reviewing the public sector's function and turning most of it into private hands was a reference to something that Tunisians were already aware of. Nevertheless, the Tunisian authorities refused to execute international organizations' recommendations with haste especially of the beginning of 1987. Today, there are 400 public establishments employing 200 thousand people. This is a huge number in fact if we take into consideration that the country's total labour force includes 2 million people. Further more public establishments pay 30 percent of total wages and accounts for 60 percent of exports. The public sector also costs the State huge sums of money (1472 million dinars between 1982 and 1986) due to its weak productivity, huge wastes and bureaucracy. In fact, the Tunisian public sector was forced on the one hand to fight unemployment and to employ at the same time thousands of unproductive people on the other. It was also used sometimes as a political instrument. This

shows that the reform of the public and nationalized sector needs complete review of all these problems under all their aspects. This was not the case in the August 1987 law which aimed at reducing the State commitment in the public sector. But after the November reform, Tunisian officials prepared themselves for a better study of this issue. The problem is still there today and raises several questions related in the first place to the maintenance of the State control over the so called vital sector such as the post, telephone, railroads, water, energy, airlines, shipping, mines, oil and steel production. The second question is related to the definition of the private sector. Is it Tunisian only, Arab in general, European or American? If we look, closely at the Tunisian private sector's potential, we see that there are only few businessmen with the required skills and capacities who unfortunately lack the capital resources and there other who have these resources but have a limited outlook at economic affairs and cannot for example understand the need for medium-term agricultural investments and long-term industrial investments. They only carry out short-term trade transactions. If we consider that the credibility of the State since 1 year will encourage these people to be more liberated. The fact is, nevertheless, that the Tunisian capital base is not sufficient to absorb the public establishments which are to put put in private hands. This means that foreign capital will be called upon and this raises fears and reservations concerning the employment of Tunisian nationals and the independence of the Tunisian economy.

Table 4—Tunisian Foreign Trade
(millions of Tunisian dinars)

	8 month, 1987	8 month, 1988	Variations in percent
Import	1623.9	2026.9	+ 24.8
Export	1141.9	1289	+ 12.9
Balance	- 482	- 737.9	+ 53.1
Coverage	70.3 percent	63.6 percent	- 9.6

Source: Ministry of Plan, Tunis

Table 5—Tunisia's Main Suppliers
(millions of T. Dinars)

Countries	1985	1986	1987*
Algeria	130.1	64	—
Morocco	16.5	13.6	—
France	631.7	633.2	509.2
Italy	295 (est)	250 (est)	210 (est)
Soviet-Union	12.7	30.2	15.8
USA	133.3	160.1	111.8
West Germany	276.6	300.3	250 (est)

*Ten months

Source: Banque Centrale de Tunisie. Statistiques Finances, 1987.

4) Diversification of resources and partners. The Tunisian economy is relatively diversified as shown above and it is in the very interest of the country that this

diversification be intensified in order to be able to diversify its trade partners as well.

The enclosed figure shows that industrial countries have a complete control over the Tunisian foreign trade while trade exchanges with Eastern European countries remain limited. In fact, it is very difficult to achieve the diversification of trade partners because Tunisia needs equipment, food stuffs and technology that are generally available in industrial countries only. And even such countries as India and China have these requirements, which usually lack the financial resources with which they can finance their exports such as grants and loans. But this situation can be changed if appropriate laws, banking institutions and agreements are provided. All this is in turn related to the new political and strategic choices which depend on solidarity to a large extent. Tunisia can do this with other Third World Countries. Arab countries in general and its neighbors in North Africa in particular.

5) Relations with international financial organizations Tunisia is among developing countries which have skillfully introduced the reforms and changes recommended by the World Bank and the IMF. Some believe this skilful application of recommendations is a complete dependence on foreign institutions. This was true in the past, particularly in 1984 when they led to the "hunger riots."

Today Tunisian officials try to establish a new type of relations with the IMF to avoid the complete dependence on this organization and the inflexible refusal of its recommendations at the same time.

Towards a Strategic View

In order to see how the Tunisian government tackles these problems we can refer first to the Seventh 5-Year Development Plan, second to the speech made by the Tunisian President on 7 November 1988, and third, to the 1989 estimated budget. The Seventh 5-Year Plan underlines three objectives: development of agriculture, increase of exports and control of local demand and consumption. The general objective is to achieve an annual growth rate of 4 percent to cover the population increase rate of 21.5 percent, while the Sixth 5-Year Plan had achieved a growth rate of 2.9 percent only. Another objective of the new plan is to reduce the foreign debt burden and unemployment.

It should be noted in this respect that working people increased today to 56 percent of the population and this will lead to additional demand on labour, to 345 thousand applications for work between 1987-1991.

Work opportunities expected to be created are only 240 thousand. The Seventh 5-Year Plan depends on private investments (60 percent) to increase employment. It also calls on the private sector to contribute with 6.24 billion dinar in the total investments of 10.4 billion dinar. The question raised here is related to the private capital capacity and the extent of the private sector's confidence in the State. This also applies to foreign investors. All

these questions were included in the national pact to which all Tunisian political parties adhered on 7 November 1988. It speaks in its third provision about "the increase and improvement of the quality of production and attaching special importance to agriculture." It also calls on a balanced dependence on the public sector in the field of heavy industry and vital sectors and on the private sector which can allow the use of local skills and initiatives. President Ben Ali announced on the day this pact was signed that municipal councils will be transformed to regional councils and will have wider competence. They will be responsible for their own budgets made up of funds allocated to them by the State budget in addition to their own resources. The 1989 State budget was approved by the Council of Ministers last November. The main features of this budget is the increase of wages in the public sector by 10 dinars per month as of January 1989; employment of 9000 people in the public sector mainly in the social sector such as health care and education; increasing the State activities in the social field such as increasing scholarships; continue to subsidize basic services in the framework of the Public Fund of compensation and the Private Fund for road transportation; increasing the allocations to the Assistance Fund which helps poor families from 8 million dinar to 10 million. Thus, more than 51 percent of the total 1989 budget expenditures are social expenditures. This is in fact a reaction to the claims of international financial organizations which call for a reduction of these expenses. The 1989 budget shows the importance Tunisian authorities attach to current economic problems and also reflects a complete awareness of the difficulties which can arise in future.

UNITED ARAB EMIRATES

Petroleum Processing Projects Described

44040176a *Dubayy AL-BAYAN in Arabic* 3 Dec 88 p 3

[Article: "A Broad Upsurge in Oil Projects in the Emirates: 23 Projects for Oil Industries in the Country"]

[Text] The past few years have witnessed massive expansions in industrial projects connected to oil in the Emirates. Their number is currently estimated at 23, alongside 5 projects which are under construction.

With the increase in the population in the Emirates, productive capacity in domestic refineries has been increased to cope with consumers' increasing requirements for all types of fuel.

In Dubayy, the role the Dubai Natural Gas Company Limited is a prominent one.

The EMIRATES NEWS AGENCY pointed out in a report that the number of oil industry projects extant in the Emirates currently totals 23. These are the Umm al-Nar refinery; the al-Ruways refinery; the Adgaz offshore gas plant; the oil blending plant; the Abu Dhabi

Gas Industries Company Limited (Gasco); the gas treatment unit in Habshan; the Abu Dhabi Drilling Chemicals and Products Company; the Abu Dhabi Plastic Pipe Industry Company; the salt and chlorine plant; the chemical fertilizer plant; the Dubai Natural Gas Company Limited; the gas pipeline system; the gas gathering company; the project to strip sulphur from natural gas and develop the Tamamah deposit to produce natural gas; the Emirates Gas Bottling Company Limited plant; the liquid petroleum gas bottling plant belonging to the ADNOC distribution company; the Caltex Gulf oil plant; the hydrogen fractionation unit; the oilfield equipment supply center in Dubayy; the water injection project in the offshore fields in Dubayy; and the al-Daj'ah gas exploitation project in Sharjah.

Projects Under Construction

There are five projects under construction. These are the oil gathering system in the Bu Hasa, 'Asab, and Bab fields; the project to develop the al-Khuff zone gas in the Umm al-Shayf field, and the project to reinject gas in Habshan in addition to a project still under study; the methanol plant in Sharjah; the direct reduction iron ore plant and electric oven for producing steel with a capacity of 500,000 tons a year in the al-Rus area in Abu Dhabi; and a project in al-Ruways to produce chemicals currently used in a number of countries as a substitute for triethyl lead to raise the octane level of automobile gasoline.

The Umm al-Nar refinery is located near the city of Abu Dhabi and the ADNOC company owns it in full. Construction on it began in April 1983 and it was completed and began commercial production of oil products in March 1976. The refinery produced about 15,000 barrels of high-grade and regular automobile fuel, kerosene, diesel, fuel oil, and liquefied petroleum gas.

Expansion of Refinery Capacity

With the increase in the population in the Emirates and the increase in the consumption of various petroleum products, expansion of the refinery began in 1980 and was completed in 1983, when production of these products increased to 2.52 million tons a year.

Production of the oil blending plant, wholly owned by ADNOC, began in 1979, producing 14,000 tons of oils a year. This plant was erected near the Umm al-Nar refinery.

The Dubai Gas Company

The Dubai Natural Gas Company, Limited began work on constructing the plant belonging to it in 1980. The government of Dubayy owns 80 percent of this plant and the rest belongs to the Canadian company Sitar Oils.

The plant was built in the Jabal 'Ali industrial area near the city of Dubayy, and it is supplied with associated gas

from the three offshore fields belonging to the Dubai Petroleum Company, Limited at a rate of 125 million cubic feet a day, to produce propane (9,000 barrels a day), butane (7,000 barrels a day), and gas condensate (7,000 barrels a day).

The remaining gas is sent to the adjacent Dubai aluminum plant to feed its electric generators.

The Emirates Company

The government of Dubayy owns the refinery of the Emirates Gas Bottling Company, Limited in the Jabal 'Ali area near the Dugas plant. Its capital amounts to 3 million dirhams, and it was established in 1980. It began its production in 1981 and produces about 43,000 tons a year of liquefied petroleum gas in the form of cylinders of various capacities for internal consumption. The plant is fed by the adjacent Dugas plant.

The liquefied petroleum gas bottling plant belonging to the ADNOC distribution company produces about 19,000 tons of liquefied petroleum gas a year, which

reaches it through the Umm al-Nar refinery. This is for domestic marketing for the Emirate of Abu Dhabi and was opened in 1984.

In Sharjah

A liquefied petroleum gas bottling plant in the Emirate of Sharjah produces about 9,000 tons a year.

The Caltex Gulf oil plant is situated in Jabal 'Ali in Dubayy and its capital comes to 40 million dirhams. The plant was erected in 1969 and the volume of annual production comes to 200,000 barrels.

There also are a number of projects under study, including the project of a methanol plant in Sharjah with the participation of a British company, the project of the direct iron ore reduction plant and electric oven to produce 500,000 tons of steel a year in the al-Ruways area, and the al-Ruways MTBI production plant. It is worth pointing out that this material is used presently in a number of countries in place of triethyl lead to raise the octane level of automobile gasoline.

INDIA

Commentary: India-China Border Issue To Persist Despite Gandhi Visit

46000074b Calcutta SUNDAY in English
15-21 Jan 89 pp 51-52

[Article by A. P. Venkateswaran, former foreign secretary]

[Text] The centenary of the birth of Jawaharlal Nehru, India's first Prime Minister, is presently being observed all over the country. It is, therefore, only appropriate to recall that it was Nehru who had laid down the foundations of the foreign policy of the country. A major plank of that foreign policy was friendship and cooperation with China. Nehru had a vision of the two most populated and exploited countries on this planet moving forward, hand in hand, and contributing to the strengthening of peace in Asia and the world. Unfortunately, this vision was not shared by China and it took less than 10 years, after recognition by India of the People's Republic of China in 1949, for the dream to fade away.

The 40 years of relationship between the two countries can be divided roughly into four periods: from 1949 to 1954 it was a phase of *bhai bhai* although the exchanges between the two countries in regard to the entry of the Chinese People's Liberation Army into Tibet should have cautioned us. From 1955 to 1962 it was a phase of rising troubles and differences, highlighted by the flight of the Dalai Lama to India in 1959, clashes between Indian and Chinese patrols on the border areas and culminating in the September-October 1962 conflict in the Himalayas.

From 1962 to 1976 there had been a period of freeze in bilateral relations. Both sides had been wise enough to continue maintaining their respective embassies despite the withdrawal of ambassadors. The fourth and last phase, from 1976 onwards, has been a period of gradual rebuilding of relations, commencing with the return of the ambassadors to the respective capitals and the visit of the minister of external affairs of India to China in 1979 and the return visit of the Chinese minister of foreign affairs to India in 1981. These exchanges had resulted in the setting up of the official-level talks, of which eight rounds had been held up to November 1987.

The visit of Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi to China last month is, therefore, logical culmination of these developments and, normally, there should not have been any controversy about it. The fact that there have been sharply divided opinions concerning the visit is largely attributable to its timing, with barely a year left for the general elections to take place in India. Clearly the timing of the talks placed India in a logically weak position, since the Chinese side may be expected to have its own reservations about whether whatever was agreed upon would be implemented. Added to these misgivings had been the statement of the official spokesman of the

Chinese foreign office, to journalists in Beijing a few weeks prior to the visit, that it was taking place at the initiative of India. Surely, an ungracious remark, if not an ominous one, to say the least.

On the part of the Indian government the situation had been compounded by ignoring the normal preliminary preparations, which are necessary for such high-level visits, to maximise the possibility of success. From the briefings given as well as the press conference addressed by our Prime Minister, taken together with the joint communique issued at the end of the visit, one would be justified to conclude that, with regard to the central issue between the two countries, namely the boundary question, no headway had been made. To announce that both sides have agreed to maintain peace and tranquillity on the boundary is a mere repetition of what has been already agreed, years earlier, at the official-level talks. So is the search for guiding principles on the basis of which the boundary dispute should be discussed.

The only other point is the one relating to setting up of a joint working group, headed by the two foreign secretaries, to go into the question of identifying these basic guidelines for determining the boundary alignment. It is a sobering thought that after much talk of raising the level of the discussions on the boundary to the political level, the baby has been handed back to the very same officials who had been responsible for the official-level talks. Does this signify the end of the earlier rounds of talks of the officials? This too has been left unanswered. Fortunately, no specific time frame for the exercise has been laid down. To have attempted it was the main mistake in respect of the India-Sri Lanka agreement for which we are paying such a heavy price to this day.

The absence of any kind of advance on the substantial issue concerning the boundary leaves one to conclude that the Chinese position has remained inflexible. Premier Chou Enlai had advanced the so-called package proposal in the late 1950s, suggesting a formalisation of the India-China boundary through Indian acceptance of the Chinese line of actual control in Aksai Chin, in the western sector, in return for which the Chinese would be prepared to recognise the McMahon line in the eastern sector. This understanding of the package proposal had again been enunciated as recently as in October 1932 by Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping to an official Indian delegation in Beijing. However, there has been a turn-about in the Chinese position since 1985. That year, the Chinese delegation at the official level talks had suddenly professed ignorance of China's own package proposal of 25-years' standing and asserted categorically that, since the biggest area of dispute was in the eastern sector, India must make "concessions" in that sector in return for which China would be prepared to make "corresponding concessions" in the western sector. The Chinese side was not prepared to spell out the nature of the concessions which they now sought and kept insisting that India should first agree, in principle, to this new formulation and only thereafter would the Chinese claims be revealed!

This shifting in the Chinese position is strongly reminiscent of the volte face by Premier Chou Enlai in 1959 when for the first time he had advanced formal Chinese claims in regard to Aksai Chin and the Northeast Frontier Agency of India, admitting unabashedly that these claims had not been advanced earlier since the time was not ripe. Obviously, Premier Chou Enlai did not see any contradiction between the position he took then and the earlier pronouncements he himself had made during his visits to India, extolling peace and friendship that characterised the India-China border which stretched over a length of 2,000 miles.

It stands to reason, therefore, that unless the Chinese drop their insistence on the fresh concessions which they now presumably seek in the eastern sector of the boundary, there can be no serious discussions on a possible boundary settlement. A continuously shifting line projected by one party to a boundary dispute can hardly build the atmosphere of trust and confidence that is absolutely essential if any progress is to be made on the issue. Mere reiteration of the panchasheel will not suffice in this context.

Turning again to the visit of our Prime Minister, the maximum which can be said for it, at this time, is that it has helped break the ice to some extent by opening up a dialogue at the highest level. This enables each side to form its own impression of the other, and at the very least one can argue that to know one's adversary is more important than even to know one's friend. Judged by the number of countries visited by our head of government, to have left China out of the itinerary would have been a glaring omission. One can also draw whatever consolation is possible from the various agreements signed on culture, science and technology and civil aviation, through these did not require participation at such an exalted level.

As against these marginal pluses the minuses appear to be preponderant. We do not know whether any proposals of our own, in regard to the boundary, had been put forward, although speculation abounds that some such thing might have happened. China has repeatedly stated that it will not make "unilateral concessions." By this it means it is not prepared to part with any portion of the territories presently occupied by it unless India is prepared to part with at least some portion of territory in the eastern sector. Is this at all feasible in psychological and emotional terms? Obviously both for strategic and other reasons such a proposal will not be acceptable to us.

Again the glaring references to Tibet made during the talks and reflected in the joint communique can only cause hurt and misgivings to the Dalai Lama and his followers who have been given asylum in India. The least that we should have sought, in return for the reaffirmation of India's recognition of Tibet as an autonomous part of China, was a similar affirmation by China that it recognises the accession of Sikkim to India, which China has refused to do so far.

Or equally important, why did we not seek an assurance that no Chinese assistance would be forthcoming to tribal insurgents in our northeast border states? It was in 1979 that the Chinese foreign minister told our minister for external affairs, when this subject had been raised, that this was a matter of the past. Could it not again be a matter for the future, if not of the present?

All these errors of omission and commission show that we still have a long way to go in matching wits with the Chinese, not only on the ground but also across the conference table. The Chinese have a tradition of meticulous preparation and adherence to the positions which they take, whether right or wrong. We have gained the reputation of being a soft state since we show an unwillingness to face hard realities. If as a result of the visit there is at least a greater realisation of the problems that confront us in sorting out the boundary issue with China, the visit may have been worthwhile. Only the future course of events will establish if this is so.

The international situation is in a state of flux. A new president assumes charge soon in the United States. Democracy has been reestablished in Pakistan, but for how long is debatable. In the Soviet Union the leadership faces great odds in pursuing its domestic reforms and also in maintaining its external initiatives for peace and disarmament. Japan has emerged as a new economic centre and western Europe is forging its political unity besides consolidating on the economic front. Against this scenario it has become fashionable for one country too tell the other that when they develop relations with third countries these would not be at the expense of the earlier relations which would continue to subsist. Alas, the laws of nature work differently. Any change in the linkage at one level will inevitably affect other linkages. We cannot, therefore, afford to be complacent. By the same token, however, we should not react by being stampeded into hasty action which we may later on live to regret.

Shiv Sena Said To 'Gear Up' for State Elections

46000074a Cochin THE WEEK in English
8-14 Jan 89 pp 44-46

[Article by Olga Tellis/Bombay. First paragraph is introduction]

[Text] The Shiv Sena adopts a ten-point resolution at its Pune convention and gears up for the Assembly elections.

Only once before had the citizens of Pun witnessed such a huge gathering; at the meeting held to felicitate Jayaprakash Narayan after the Emergency was lifted. But the 45,000 people who flocked to attend the Shiv Sena's third annual convention on 30 December had come to listen to Bal Thackeray. The fee of Rs 30 that each person had to shell out to attend the adiveshan did not seem to deter Thackeray's supporters. And on 31 December, the concluding day of the adiveshan, nearly three lakh people turned up for the rally. Naturally,

Thackeray had every reason to be exuberant. "The turning point of the Shiv Sena came when we fought the mayoral elections for the Aurangabad municipal corporation and lost by just two seats. But the peak was at Pune," he said.

But it was not merely a rally held to gauge the popularity of the Shiv Sena. In fact, the convention marked the start of the Sena's offensive in its bid to win the next Assembly elections. "We fought in Bombay and won the corporation when nobody thought we could. Then we won the Thane corporation and narrowly missed the Aurangabad municipal corporation. We are now going to concentrate fully on winning the Assembly elections." And the organised manner in which the convention was conducted, it seems as if Thackeray is eager to prove that the Shiv Sena can do it.

Said Pramod Navalkar, a prominent Shiv Sena leader, echoing his chief's sentiments: "You could say we were on the runway for two years and we have finally taken off. Now nothing can stop us. Even the government is worried as they realise our strength." That the Shiv Sena is serious about its intentions of winning the next elections is apparent even in the plan of action that the party has charted out for itself. The thrust of its programme will be on wooing the youth. As Thackeray pointed out at the *adiveshan*, "We have saved a whole generation of kids from the menace of brown sugar. We have given them an ideology to fight for. We have made them fight against dowry, sati and drugs. I am not against young people having a good time but it must be in moderation."

But even though the emphasis was on the problems of the youth and generation of employment, the Sena leader also vowed that it would agitate for pension to be paid to all those who had completed 25 to 30 years of service. The argument was that if legislators can get pensions for the rest of their lives even if they have only served a five-year term why should the others be denied the privilege.

Thackeray also announced the formation of the Shetkari Sena which he said would ensure that the farmers got the right prices for their agricultural produce and help combat the phenomenal rise in prices of essential commodities. The leader also declared that if voted to power, he would ensure that Marathi is compulsorily introduced in all government organisations. Besides, the Sena would continue to fight for the rights of the Marathi-speaking people to be given the first priority in jobs.

Some of these resolutions are obviously an attempt to silence the Sena's critics who have accused the party of lacking an economic policy. Navalkar, however, says, "We don't have to spell out our economic policies just now. Our main concentration will be to win the state first. Besides, what economic policy does the Congress have? It cannot even provide the people food, clothing

and shelter? Balsaheb (Thackeray) has said that he will provide *anna*, *vastra* and *ashra* (food, shelter and clothing) to all."

The Sena's sudden offensive has certainly taken the Congress(I) by surprise. And in a bid to counter the Sena's moves, the Marathwada lobby, comprising leaders such as revenue minister Vilasrao Deshmukh, Shivajirao Patil-Nilangekar, Union minister Shivraj Patil and MPCC(I) [Maharashtra Pradesh Congress Committee] president Pratibha Patil, met to discuss ways in which they could meet the Sena's challenge. But seems unlikely that they will be able to effectively pose a challenge to the Sena. The Sainiks have already started interacting with the local people and have a fleet of 85 ambulances which are maintained strictly for the use of the locals in the districts.

The Congress, on the other hand, presents a pathetic picture. Factional fights are the order of the day while the MPCC is almost defunct. Nevertheless, the Congress(I) has decided to hold a rally on 16 January in Aurangabad to "provide an answer to the Shiv Sena's 30 December meeting." In Bombay, too, groups owing allegiance to Gurudas Kamat and Murli Deora frequently have show-downs. It is little wonder then that Thackeray confidently asserts, "The state is left wide open for us."

NEPAL

Prime Minister Shrestha Claims Partylessness Leads to Democracy

46000071c Kathmandu THE RISING NEPAL
in English 12 Jan 89 p 4

[Text] Prime Minister Marich Man Singh Shrestha while inaugurating the 32nd Assembly of Arghakhanchi district Panchayat at Sandhikharka the other day amply highlighted the fact that democracy has strengthened under the Panchayat system because of partylessness. For the same reason, as Mr Shrestha rightly pointed out, it has been possible to keep up dedicated efforts to raise the living standards of the people below the poverty line through a balanced development of all areas of the country. Nepal has achieved significant progress in various fields of economic development under the partyless democratic Panchayat system. In an effort to provide the basic needs of the people by the end of the century, His Majesty's Government has already formulated and prepared the basic needs programme. The Panchayat system has placed emphasis on decentralization thus making the role of the different units of the Panchayat important not only in the formulation of the programmes and development schemes for their concerned areas but also in their implementation. This fact underscores the need for the local units of the panchayat and manpower to be developed for raising the capability to discharge their responsibilities under the decentralization scheme smoothly, as was emphasised by Prime Minister Shrestha.

Mr Shrestha has also highlighted the sense of equal justice and equal protection all the Nepalese people have been experiencing under the partyless democratic Panchayat system. The Prime Minister said, "all citizens in Nepal can feel a sense of equal justice and equal protection and can participate actively in nation building." All the people have been provided with the opportunity to develop their talents, skill and personality. They have also been given equal opportunity to participate in the stupendous task of nation building. In fact, it is only through the active and whole-hearted participation and cooperation of all the people that the challenging task of development can become successful. It is in this context that the Prime Minister's exhortation to every Nepalese to make concrete efforts from his respective station towards fulfilling the basic needs of the people becomes timely. Panchayat workers, as Mr Shrestha said, need to understand the need for national development and identify the feasible areas of development in their respective districts, mobilize the people's extensive participation and make the best use of resources provided by HMG and also those locally available. Indeed, it is only with this sense that the challenging task of development and improvement of the living condition of the people can be achieved.

Government Policy on Newsprint Imports Criticized

46000071a Kathmandu THE MOTHERLAND
in English 7 Jan 89 p 3

[Text] Government decision to break the National Trading Limited monopoly on newsprint imports is hardly a measure of cheapening newsprint prices. That HMG is silent on whether or not they are going to subsidize it despite questions on the matter is an indication that subsidisation is too remote a possibility for immediate comment by the HMG spokesman. What is wanted here is easy availability of newsprint to the media at facilitated rates so that the prices of newspapers may not be increased to be passed on to an already limited readership.

If a realistic appraisal of the government media policy is made, there is little reason why subsidisation must be avoided. To a bulk of registered newspapers, government is already footing their bills by way of stipends both above and below board. The fact is that government is hardly gaining much in terms of credible support by such a method of taming the press. The institutionalisation of a credible press would mean a change in the government viewpoint on how to encourage competition and woo a readership at the stalls by way of which the press may earn a genuine readership which will support its independence. It is only by this stage that a credible media policy is possible. For allowing this competition, the government must encourage a readership that can find the media within the reach of their purse. Newsprint subsidisation for the press industry thus is one means by which publications can come cheap to a readership. Again, government has turned a blind eye to possibilities at the expense of the press. Those most likely to gain

from this new measure are vested interests among importers who had so far not added newsprints to their inventory.

Foreign Trade Said Increasing

46000071d Kathmandu THE RISING NEPAL
in English 13 Jan 89 p 1

[Text] Kathmandu, 12 January—The volume of Nepal's foreign trade in the fiscal 1987-88 increased by 22.8 percent to 16,950,000,000 (sixteen billion nine hundred fifty million) rupees compared to the year 1986-87, official figures showed.

With the country's total exports amounting to 4,012,200,000 (four billion twelve million and two hundred thousand) rupees and import bills totalling 12,938,000,000 (twelve billion nine hundred thirty eight million) rupees the country was saddled with a trade deficit of 8,925,800,000 (eight billion nine hundred twenty-five million eight hundred thousand) rupees.

According to the Chief Spokesman of His Majesty's Government exports increased by 33.5 percent overseas exports contributing 62 percent 'exports to India accounted for 37 percent while to the Tibet Autonomous Region of China 1 percent in the total exports. [as published]

In the overseas exports, he said, the increase was 45.9 percent to 2,488,643,000 (two billion four hundred eighty eight million and six hundred forty three thousand) rupees with the woolen carpets, readymade garments and leather occupying major place in the overseas exports. These three items together claimed 90.8 percent share in the country's total overseas exports in 1987-88, the Chief Spokesman added.

Exports to India increased by 14 percent to 1,484,957,000 (one billion four hundred eighty four million nine hundred fifty seven thousand) rupees in 1987-88 compared to the previous fiscal year.

Nepal exported goods worth 38,618,000 (thirty eight million six hundred eighteen thousand) rupees to the Tibet Autonomous Region of China last year.

Compared to the increase in exports, imports into Nepal registered an increase of 19.8 percent during the period.

The Chief Spokesman said that the import structure has undergone significant change in the past 2-3 years. Industrial raw materials, raw wool, cotton cloths and raw materials for exportable goods, mechanical equipment, petroleum products chemical fertilizers, construction materials and different types of edible oils are the principal items of imports.

Citing preliminary figures, the Chief Spokesman said that the imports from India increased by 10.7 percent to

4,716,600,000 (four billion seven hundred sixteen million and six hundred thousand) rupees in 1987-88 compared to the figures of the previous year.

Imports from other countries (including the Tibet Autonomous Region of China) went up by 25 percent and totalled 8,221,400,000 (eight billion two hundred twenty one million, four hundred thousand) rupees.

Imports from the Tibet Autonomous Region of China amounted to 499,400,000 (four hundred ninety nine million four hundred thousand) rupees.

Editorial Criticizes Opposition to Student Organization

460000071b Kathmandu *THE MOTHERLAND*
in English 9 Jan 89 p 3

[Text] The question of a student organisation for the pro-Panchayat camp has once again assumed controversial proportions. Primarily, those opposed to the partyless Panchayat system would want that their organisational strength which is demonstrated primarily in the student wing go unchallenged. Another section that cannot tolerate the Panchayat organising itself comes from among those within the Panchayat who would prefer to wear the mantle of liberalism by appearing to tolerate organised opposition to the Panchayat and opposing attempts at organisation from within the Panchayat. Among this section also are those who feel their organisation within the Panchayat will come under threat if the Panchayat seeks to organise. Yet another section are those with hardly any political strength apart from the fact that they have been picked into position of political responsibility by some or the other mentor in the upper echelons of the Panchayat.

Unhappily, those who would want the Panchayat disorganised harp on the theme that the Panchayat system is a partyless system and thus any attempt to organise runs contrary to Panchayat philosophy. However it was an organised Panchayat system that could lay down the foundations of the Panchayat, despite organised opposition from sections with powerful backing. Secondly, partylessness does in my way mean disorganisation, but rather how political groupings show their presence in day to day politics. Thirdly, a disorganised Panchayat would be a misnomer for a mob especially when pitted against an organised, cadre-based opposition seeking to uproot the essence of partylessness from the country. Should there be disagreement on ways to bring about coherence and sense of purpose in the Panchayat camp, it is well to debate and come to a workable conclusion. But to discredit the attempt itself for the sake of opposition is not what is desired.

PAKISTAN

'Anti-Democratic' Elements Said To Fear Peace

46000070b Lahore *VIEWPOINT* in English
5 Jan 89 p 18

[Article by Husain Naqi: "Who Is Afraid of Peace in South Asia?"]

[Text] A barrage of 'editorials' from the self-appointed custodians of the country, its 'ideology,' unit, integrity and solidarity, as well as the inquisitors of dissent, appeared even before the Fourth SAARC [South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation] Summit began under the Chairmanship of Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto.

The fact that the SAARC Summit was to be presided over by an elected leader of Pakistan and the enthusiasm it generated among the common people appears to have irked the anti-democratic elements who have a record of turning into ready apologists of dictatorial regimes and even gone so low as to describe them as 'Islamic.'

Anti-Democratic

With many Press barons having been obliged by successive usurpers, some of them appear to feel an obligation towards publicising the anti-democratic elements. There was a lot of propaganda in the newspapers. This invited a response from democratic forces who on Friday, who pointed out that the former had remained silent, in fact lauded the servile policies of General Ziaul Haq.

They did all in their power to vitiate the cordial atmosphere so essential for building up mutual confidence and trust amongst the leaders of the SAARC nations. What was noteworthy was the fact that these very gentlemen and their publicists on no previous SAARC Summit had made such hue and cry as they did now. Not that they were unaware of the fact that SAARC dealt only with mutually agreed areas wherein the countries of South Asia could cooperate. Yet they brought forth contentious issues and even organised protest demonstrations to which there was little public response.

Bangladesh

In its editorial columns, this fanatic fringe was still not prepared to concede that the establishment of Bangladesh as independent and sovereign nation in South Asia was the result of its peoples struggle against the neo-colonial approach of our stupid dictators and usurpers who refused democratic rights to the people and thought they could subjugate the Bengalis through naked armed might, and that too after the 1970 general elections. To put the blame on another country for Bangladesh's creation was an insult to Bangladeshi people's struggle. One may ask, how different was this from the stupid allegation that Pakistan's creation was a 'British conspiracy.'

In another editorial, the reduction in the military budgets of India and Pakistan has been tagged to the solution of Kashmir issue and despite the fact that, under the Simla Accord, both countries are committed to solving this issue bilaterally and peacefully, the editorial talked of the possibility of 'cold or hot war.'

Futility of War

Such people fail to see the futility of war and while they dared not oppose the Simla Accord all these years, new doubts are being planted about the same. People in India and Pakistan have suffered enough privation, hunger and underdevelopment due to heavy military expenditure. Instead of welcoming the idea of reducing the same to divert funds towards much needed basic needs, like education health and shelter, which would contribute much more towards national security than the military build-up, could only be described as crazy or sinister.

As for Pakistan, our people have experienced that arms build-up could not ensure even the country's integrity. Both Pakistan and India for their defence need a healthy, educated people and not the starving, illiterate, shelterless and disaffected millions, deprived of their basic human rights.

Apart from indulging in war-mongering, the fanatics are also worried over the possibilities of Pakistan's march towards normalisation of relations with its eastern neighbours. While these very same elements, including those in the print media are lauding Gen. Zia's policies 'brilliant diplomacy' to defuse tension, they were worked up at Prime Minister Ms. Bhutto's assertion that all the rocky impediments in the way of normalisation would be smashed. A newspaper specialising in spreading hatred and confrontation got so upset that it even disputed Prime Minister's authority as the leader of the majority party while exaggerating her dependence on the Opposition's cooperation. It was irked by the tributes offered to her leadership by the Indian Prime Minister. But the most funny part of this editorial was its attempt, once again, to hoodwink the people of Pakistan that Gen. Zia's reign was the era of 'Islamisation.' This term, like the term 'Nazaria-i-Pakistan,' was coined by authoritarian hypocrites and their henchmen as well as hatchetmen.

The Quaid-i-Azam never used them. His ideal was crystal clear: a secular Pakistan where religion would be a private matter between man and God. In this ideal State, all citizens were to be free and completely equal. The people of Pakistan, whenever they could exercise their right to express their will, have unequivocally come out in support of the Quaid's ideal.

Only fanatics and chauvinists have acted otherwise. But they were more and more isolated after every authoritarian rule. Now they are alienated as never before and they are trying Punjabi chauvinism brazenfacedly.

The Punjabi Chauvinists

The Punjabi chauvinists dread the Punjabi language, Punjabi literature, the message for emancipation and equality of human beings in the message of Punjabi sages and poets who rejected all that discriminated between one human being and another. The chauvinists also can't hide their contempt for the Punjabi nationality and denounce the same, using their hypocritical fervour for Pakistani nationalism as if the two are mutually exclusive. For long the vested interest, the hypocrites, the usurpers and their hangers-on have thrived by fanning communal and sectarian hatred. They have also abused patriotic sections as the 'Indo-Soviet' lobby. But their loot and plunder has now exposed them thoroughly and their campaign of hatred is confined to only a small coterie of fanatics.

Partisan Feuding Hinders Democratic Consolidation

46000073b Islamabad *THE MUSLIM in English*
14 Jan 89 pp 4-5

[Article by Ghani Eirabie]

[Text] The country is faced today with the ugly spectacle of a Kilkenny cat fight between two political parties, both in power and clawing for more, occasionally lapsing into gutter language and neither apparently mindful of the harm done to the body politic.

There is nothing wrong with political parties seeking power—that is what they are for—but PPP [Pakistan People's Party] and IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad] already have secured their due share of power under the nation's mandate delivered 16 November. But the suspicion is, while paying lip service to it, they are clandestinely trying to circumvent the national verdict, at the least to stretch it and if possible, manipulate it. The People's Party feels insecure without the Punjab and the Islami Jamhoori Ittehad feels unfulfilled without the Centre; and the nation has since been plagued by the two parties relentless pursuit of ambition.

Polarisation

There has been no end to sniping since the polls. First it was the PPP that blamed all its misfortunes on the caretaker regime's misuse of identity cards: now on the eve of by-elections, it is IJI that is trying to pin the rap on the PPP-controlled Ministry of the Interior again. The Centre's action in releasing hundreds of those imprisoned by the outgoing Martial Law regime, has prompted the charge that the Centre's thoughtless action poses a threat to the law and order situation in the Punjab. While PPP looks upon them as prisoners of conscience, victimised by the military Government for their political views, who needed the speediest redress, the IJI Administration suspects some as terrorists and, maintains, instead of wholesale release, there should have been a

case-by-case examination to ensure that hardened criminals did not get away. The controversy continues to foul up relations. Lack of prior consultation has also been invoked by the Punjab in its protest against the pullout and posting of Central government officers.

These are some of the ostensible causes, but the root-cause of the trouble is the initial PPP/IJI failure to honestly accept the popular verdict which was deliberately designed by the electorate to divide power between the two major parties and not let all authority be monopolised by any one of them. From that point of view, the mandate has been violated both in Baluchistan and NWFP [Northwest Frontier Province], the first invitation to form a government should have gone automatically to the largest single party: to JUI [Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Islam] and not IJI in Baluchistan and to IJI and not PPP in NWFP. It is the failure to do the right thing that has led to the dissolution of the Baluchistan Assembly, triggering more acrimony, and may cause problems in NWFP when the Independents begin to change their loyalties, in quest of greater personal gain.

The unrelenting quest for personal gain, in fact, is the bane of our politics. To put it bluntly, developing countries, with their state-controlled economies, offer limitless opportunities for personal aggrandisement in the form of permits, licences, lands and jobs, to those operating levers of political power. Some items in the largesse can be lavished by the province and others by the Centre. For instance, the province can give land for a factory, but only the Centre can provide Foreign loan or import of machinery. Thus optimum benefit can be reaped by party-men if the party controls both the Centre and the province. The pressure on parties to seek sway simultaneously at the Centre and the province has increased with the emergence of the Petite Bourgeoise, the mercantile community, the Big Business and the Big Industrialist. The new class has added its clout too the traditional influence of the landed aristocracy. The Young Turks of both classes are a mentally more alert, temperamentally less docile, somewhat more literate, but definitely more aggressive; and it is this aggressiveness on both sides which is inflaming the current political atmosphere.

Nouveau Riche

There is nothing wrong with being nouveau riche, in a way, it is tribute to the society that it is providing openings to the enterprising to make money; but it is equally incumbent on the society to ensure adequate opportunities to acquire culture. The society's lamentable failure to provide adequate facilities for self-refinement to the more enterprising of its members was reflected in the exchange of barrack language (or worse) on the floor of the Punjab Assembly in the presence of women and children in the House and in the visitors gallery. The same could happen again: in fact, next time

the verbal exchanges could be accompanied by physical violence like the throwing of chairs that brought in the first Martial Law.

There seemed to be a lull for a while in the mutual recrimination in the wake of the first Benazir-Nawaz Sharif meeting in Lahore, but the campaign appears to have been resumed. Newspapers, have been full of denunciations. Picked up at random, the 9 and 10 January issues of a couple of Islamabad and Lahore newspapers reveal a distressing preoccupation with petty feuding. One headline quoted Nawaz Sharif as saying: "Eulogising murders as martyrs damages credibility of judiciary;" another countered "Aitzaz debunks Nawaz's statement." In a followup, the Interior Minister criticising the Punjab Government's decision to keep a watch on the released political prisoners, gave the warning: "We do not want to be forced into placing any person who has evaded federal, fiscal and other laws under the surveillance of Federal investigating authorities. We hope that the Punjab Government will not undertake any adventurist and ill-advised action against its political opponents or our workers." PPP Secretary General Sh. Rafique in a statement denouncing Nawaz Sharif as "Anti-democratic and anti-people" said: "Our party believes all those who resisted Zia's tyrant rule were true patriots. "He accused the Punjab Chief Minister of promoting ethnic rifts and complicating the situation on Kalabagh Dam. Other stories with Lahore dateline—obviously inspired—claimed that work on the Dam had already begun. Two items, each across a three-column spread on the backpage of a single issue of a paper proclaimed in bold headlines: "PPP leader lashes out at C.M." and Rao Rashid lashes out at Nawaz." A third item on the same page also "lashed out" the Punjab Chief Minister without saying so. Apart from sharing the PPP outcry against Nawaz Sharif's remarks on political prisoners as statement by Mr Salman Taseer PPP deputy leader in Punjab Assembly, objected vehemently to the Punjab Chief Minister's charge that Pakistan appears to have bent over backwards at the SAARC [South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation] summit to accommodate the Indian Prime Minister, alienating the smaller South Asian states. Taseer argued that comment on foreign affairs was outside the purview of a provincial Chief Minister, and in this, he was joined by several other PPP spokesmen, including Aitzaz Ahsan. However, this view was promptly challenged by an IJI MPA Sardar Arif Nakai who claimed that Nawaz Sharif was not only a Chief Minister but also a "national leader." But mounting a counter challenge, a PPP member of the Punjab Assembly Mr Mohammad Wasi Zafar, declared categorically: the People's party can no way accept Nawaz Sharif as Chief Minister of the Punjab.

Minor though they may seem, the last two statements provide a cue to the Punjab-Centre imbroglio. The Peoples Party's apparent refusal to really accept Nawaz Sharif as the Punjab Chief Minister and Nawaz Sharif's ambition to play the national leader—a potential Prime Minister—lie at the root of the continuing tension. There

can be no peace unless the two sides shed their secretly-harboured ambitions, for the current crisis of centre-province relationship can be traced down to the mental reservation on both sides. Consciously or unconsciously, it shapes their moves and counter-moves. Strictly speaking, the Punjab cabinet has no right to offer any comments on SAARC that lies strictly within the sphere of responsibility of the Federal Government. As head of a provincial administration, Nawaz Sharif irrespective of his party affiliation, is part and parcel of the Government of Pakistan; and the Government of Pakistan must speak with one Voice to the outside world. There has to be some decorum, some discipline. If he feels he has a greater contribution to make to the country's foreign policy, he should move over to the National Assembly as Leader of the Opposition in preparation for a possible role as Leader of the House. But if he has no such plans for the foreseeable future, he would be well advised to devote all his attention to his all-important job as head of Pakistan's largest province, no small honour or responsibility.

By the same token, the Federal Government should eschew encroaching on the provincial jurisdiction of making arbitrary decisions. The basics of administration required the Centre to finalise the release-list of prisoners after a case-by-case examination, in consultation with the provincial Governments, who are responsible for maintaining law and order. Party loyalties are important but they do not or should not take precedence over the Government's primary obligation of ensuring that it did not inadvertently release those who could subsequently pose a threat to law and order. Islamabad undoubtedly has erred in not holding prior consultations with the province authorities concerned. Islamabad's preoccupation with party interests at the cost of obligations as government is much to blame. So is its arrogance.

The People's Party in all humility, must learn to recognise and respect the people's verdict which while conferring the sceptre of federal authority on them has deliberately withheld three of the provinces from them. The mandate cannot be half sacrosanct and half defiable. They need recall not just that part of the 1971-77 history which saw them achieve complete ascendancy over all provinces of Pakistan, but also the part of it showing how their grab of Baluchistan and NWFP led, in the long haul, to the unravelling of their power. The bid to secure a two-third majority at all costs proved ultimately their undoing. History repeats itself in the totality of a cycle, and not just in parts.

In any case, both sides need adopt some measures to prevent the tension from escalating to the point of no return. One way might well be for the inter-party feuding to be left to the respective party office-holders outside the government and cabinet Ministers, PPP and IJI, Central and provincial, must be forbidden to fly into the fray. It is most undignified for high state functionaries to be seen jumping at each others' throat.

Finally, the forthcoming byelections—one fervently hopes—would retain the current pattern of party representation. The status quo would help stabilize the political situation. But if the outcome favoured one party at the cost of the other, it could re-quicken the quest for power beyond the limits prescribed by the 16 November polls. The other good the byelections could do would be to return Mr Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi to the National Assembly as Leader of the Opposition. That would relieve Mr Nawaz Sharif of what he views as his extra-territorial responsibility to checkmate the PPP and guide the IJI party at the Centre. Hopefully Jatoi would absorb all the PPP hostility to a point where it would be induced to leave Nawaz Sharif alone—in the Punjab.

Common Goal Seen for South Asian Nations

46000070a Lahore VIEWPOINT in English
7 Jan 89 pp 7-8

[Text] While a great deal of the rhetoric generated at Islamabad during the Fourth SAARC [South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation] Summit was familiarly cliché-ridden, observers have noted that the moot was animated by a new spirit, with evidence of greater goodwill and keener desire for action to implement programmes that have been agreed upon.

Meeting at the close of an year which has registered the beginning of the end of the Cold War, the SAARC Conference gave due attention to their joint endeavour to work for peace: humankind's common goal. The Islamabad Declaration reiterates, with greater emphasis and clarity, the participants' abiding commitment to the principles of the UN Charter, particularly those demanding respect for every State's sovereign equality and territorial integrity, the non-use or threat of use of force, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, and the peaceful settlement of all disputes. They recognised the importance of the relaxation of global tensions. Welcoming the INF Treaty they declared their resolve to support every effort to conclude a treaty prohibiting vertical and horizontal proliferation of nuclear weapons, hoped for further accords that would lead to end of the arms race and the conclusion of a convention for a complete ban on chemical weapons. On the global plane, the SAARC delegates also re-emphasised their collective view that restructuring of the international economic system on the basis of justice and equity was vital, and they resolved to support every international effort in the direction of establishing a new International Economic Order, including the proposal of the group of 77 for convening a special session of the General Assembly in 1990.

Regional Matters

On regional matters the Conference laid stress on two problems that have recently come to menace the lives of all peoples in this as well as other regions. It was decided that special efforts would be made to combat the evil of narcotics and that, designating 1989 as the SAARC Year

against Drug Abuse and Trafficking, all governments would cooperate with each other to curb the high incidence of drug production, trade and abuse. Similarly, the problem of terrorism in all its forms was discussed in detail, and the common resolve made to take every possible step to prevent the operation of terrorist groups and eliminate mercenaries wherever it was possible through joint efforts. Then, a number of ongoing projects were surveyed, with the participants agreeing to extend cooperation in every field, particularly health, education, culture and trade. The region's overall picture in respect of the people's living standards was considered at every stage and level of the talks, and it was agreed that, whereas the effort on the global level should not be relaxed, a great deal could be achieved by close cooperation between the countries of the region. The Conference also expressed satisfaction at the establishment of a South Asian Food Security Reserve, the Agricultural Information Centre in Bangladesh, and welcomed Pakistan's offer to set up a Centre for Human Resources Development. Steps were to be devised for joint effort to check the spread of pollution and guard against natural calamities. In the long-term perspective, SAARC-2000 represents a programme that will help guide member countries towards creating a new environment in the region by the end of the century.

Pakistan's New Voice

Among other factors, the recent political transformation of this country gave the Fourth SAARC Summit a special significance. Pakistan has found a new voice, resonant with youthful confidence and earnestness. On some major issues a change of approach was clearly discernible; in any case, policies were enunciated with greater conviction and more convincingly by Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto as the country's elected leader. The difference was noted and appreciated by some other participants; and it has allowed Pakistan's representatives to play a more effective role. The praise received by the Prime Minister for her conduct of the Conference was well deserved and transparently it was not part of the formal exchange of compliments. This vital change in Pakistan's condition was reflected even more in the bilateral talks when the Prime Ministers of Pakistan and India decided to explore the path lost by the countries not long after Simla, so that relations between them could be normalized.

As a first step in this direction, Pakistan and India signed three significant agreements—the first after a lapse of sixteen years. The first accord prohibits an attack by either country on the other's nuclear installations. The second agreement lays down the modalities of cultural exchanges between the two countries in a widening field, while the third adopts measures for the avoidance of certain categories of double taxation. It was also decided to allow easier contacts on the people-to-people level, and as a start visa restrictions for members of the two national parliaments and judges of the Supreme Courts will be abolished. These measures mark a small, cautious

beginning, but the more important thing is that the two Prime Ministers have come to an understanding that future relations between the two countries will be guided by the historic Simla Accord, permitting them to move step by step to deal with all problems, big and small. Further exchanges are likely at various levels and major problems between the two countries will be kept under vigilant observation. It is most heartening that both Prime Ministers have concluded that their discussions have been good and extremely useful, and that they had succeeded in making a break through after decades of a stalemate that had led to stagnation in Indo-Pakistan relations.

The signs and omens are all goods for a new beginning. The international situation has never been so propitious. More importantly, with the exception of a few small groups who remain addicted to a policy of hate and permanent conflict, the peoples of the sub-continent yearn eagerly for peace. They want a friendly stable relationship among the two neighbours, so that they can live normal lives and begin to get their share of the promised fruits of freedom. The Prime Ministers of Pakistan and India must, therefore, guide their peoples towards a relationship of friendly cooperation so that their countries can shed the worst vestiges of the Raj and overcome the problems created since their emergence as independent States.

Science and Technology: The Forgotten Factor

46000072 Peshawar *THE FRONTIER POST* in English
13, 14 Jan 89

[Article by Prof. Dr. A. Hussain Mullick]

[13 Jan 89 pp 4-5]

[Text] Pakistan's hitherto efforts on the science and technology front have not gone beyond mere scratching the crust of under-development. It has been living on a technology which has either become redundant or wholly and solely a borrowed affair. A stage has now arrived when Pakistan must decide either to have its own independent technological base or be prepared to be condemned permanently to become a "backyard" of the industrialised world.

Recognising the role of science and technology as the principal catalytic agent of change and development, it is necessary that this sector is given more funds.

Nothing seems more incredible, however, than the fact that while Rs 41.0 billion were allowed to be spent under ex-Prime Minister Junejo's Five-Point Programme in two years—1986/88, a mere pittance, Rs 1.9 billion has been earmarked for science and technology for the entire period of the Seventh Plan (1988/93). This sounds unbelievable!

Realising the vital role which science and technology could play in fostering genuine development, what is

required is not a paltry sum of Rs 1.9 billion but at least an allocation of Rs 20 to Rs 30 billion for this crucial and most strategic sector. It is not mere statistical growthmanship that Pakistan is looking for but a genuine and solid development. Growthmanship can come and go but what is going to stay and push the development on the self-sustaining path is an aggressive thrust for a genuine and fundamental 'developmentship.' Science and technology are the foundation stones without which the whole edifice of development cannot be erected.

Niggardly allocations: The allocation for S&T in the Sixth Plan comes to 1.37 percent of total Plan outlays and around 0.14 percent of the total GNP. Most of the institutions functioning at present deal with electronics, power, medical, scientific and industrial, appropriate technology, transfer of technology, oceanography, silicon, works and housing etc. Under the Seventh Plan, a few more institutions are being planned, among them, renewable energy, material sciences, lasers and fibre optics and mineralogy. Quite disappointingly, the allocations made in the Plan are only Rs 1.860 billion which accounts for no more than 0.53 percent of the total allocations for the Public Sector (Rs 350.0 billion, 1988/93). The tragic aspect of the Seventh Plan is that its allocations for S&T come to only 32.0 percent of the amount made available in the Sixth Plan for Science and Technology.

Although some efforts have been made to develop the S&T infrastructure during the last thirty-five years, it however, continues to remain highly inadequate to meet the needs of the country. Most of the institutions are perhaps able to meet the salary bills of their employees, but beyond that they have very little funds left to meet the cost of genuine research, travel or for the purchase of the needed scientific equipment and the concomitant books, journals etc. This is confirmed by the recent Report of the National Commission on Agriculture. Staff salaries and allowances consume 80 to 90 percent of the research target at present, thus leaving little scope for financing the supporting facilities. Because of the full dependence of these institutions on the governmental funds, scientists, no matter how keen and devoted they may be, are often found frustrated to work in the suffocating atmosphere obtaining in these institutions. The fact that whatever they produce doesn't find an outlet in the market, makes the whole exercise a futile effort. Under such circumstances and also realising the fact that the salary structure, too, is highly inadequate to guarantee even a reasonable standard of living to the scientists/engineers/scholars, the incentive to leave the country in search of better prospects becomes the priority number one.

S&T sans Practical Application: The major source of increasing science and technology capacity has been to develop such facilities in universities and specialised institutions and laboratories. These efforts have borne some fruit as far as training of middle level engineers and scientists is concerned, but in most of the advanced

fields, Pakistan is still obliged to send its engineers and scientists to foreign countries. But this is no longer an easy alternative, since opportunities for foreign training are generally being curtailed by the developed countries. Training on payment is too costly to be arranged by 'developing' country. Further, it has also been observed by some experts that many developed countries only wanted to raise the level of skill in the developing nations to a point at which they would begin to ask for the modern technologies to sustain the industrial growth of the developed countries. The deletion programme of the Suzuki Plant, for instance, is a case in point. It is similar to the example where, in order to create textile market, a primitive society was taught the virtue of clothing but refused the art of weaving. It is also unfortunate that, even where a developing country's candidates are accepted for training in the industrialised countries, the opportunities for learning more useful and specialised knowhow are often restricted. Thus the time spent in foreign training is not always fully productively utilised.

Remittances Bonanza or Flight of Development: It has been estimated that the number of Pakistanis selected for overseas employment in public and private sectors through the Bureau of Emigration and Overseas Employment during the period 1971/75 by occupational category stood at 61,345 persons.

A substantial number of them consisted of engineers, doctors, masons, carpenters, electricians, plumbers, technicians and mechanics. It is estimated that since 1974, the Gulf countries were able to accommodate about 1.2 million Pakistani workers, including engineers, doctors and foremen. Pakistan was able to receive remittances worth about U.S.\$26.0 billion as against export earnings from goods of 33 billion U.S.\$ during the start of the boom in 1974 until 1987/88. Although many a planner is reported to have been terribly excited about the oil bonanza which in their view enabled Pakistan to earn a substantial amount of foreign exchange from this new source, many a critical observer, however, believes that side by side with financial gains there have also been very serious consequences of this large-scale out-migration of experts and skilled workers, on the economy. The major setback was received in the form of shortage of experts and skilled manpower during 1976/77 to 1982/83. Because of the export of skilled manpower, Pakistan's industrial and maintenance (services) sectors suffered a great deal and this was one major reason which led to the decline in the growth of the commodity sector and gave a spurt to the services sector. No wonder, therefore, that the services sector, which used to be around 43.0 percent of the GNP in the sixties, rose to 47.2 percent in 1987/88. The setback to industry was the severest of all. Although the investment rate in industry was kept at a high level, most of it either went in for capital goods or found outlet in industries of low technology/value added products. This was quite natural because the needed professional staff and skilled workers for sophisticated industries were simply not available in the country. Most of them had gone out in search of

better prospects. Because of the large-scale out-migration of experts and skilled persons to the Middle East, another factor also emerged on the scene. This was the flight of capital following the flight of manpower. The major reason for the flight of capital during the greater part of the seventies was the uncertain conditions created by the nationalisation of selected industries and banking institutions in the seventies and the resultant growth of antipathy among the business community against investment in national industry and services.

[14 Jan 89, p 4]

[Text] Although many an economist still holds the view that the massive out-migration of Pakistani workers to the Middle East was a good thing for the economy, the present writer, however, very strongly feels that this out-migration in fact, severely slowed down Pakistan's efforts to move from simple to intermediate and sophisticated technologies. The growth of low value added industries in the private sector during the seventies and eighties is a clear evidence of this particular trend. Engineering, computer and other high-tech industries have either been completely neglected or their growth was too niggardly to make any tangible impact on the industrial landscape of the country.

While the share of large-scale manufacturing in total manufacturing stood at 72.53 in 1977/78, it increased only imperceptibly to 73.56 by 1987/88. Although there could be other reasons as well for this slow growth, the out-migration of skilled workers and experienced middle level personnel played an important role in this respect. As against an insignificant increase registered in large-scale manufacturing, the share of the wholesale and Retail Trade in GDP (fc), however, increased from 14.51 in 1977/78 to 15.95 in 1987/88. The thesis that the out-migration of experts and skilled manpower proved a bonanza for the economy, is therefore not valid as far as genuine development of the economy is concerned.

Increasing cost of royalties, patents etc: "Time and tide wait for no man." While Pakistan is still struggling to develop science and technology at the national level, there are areas where the cost of neglecting the development of this resource is increasing at a rapid rate. This relates to the rapidly growing cost on royalties, technical consultancy fees, trademarks, patents etc. While it used to be about U.S.\$100.0 million in the 1960s, and about U.S.\$300 to 400 million. If the present rate of reliance on imported technology continues, Pakistan will be obliged to pay as much as U.S.\$1.0 billion during the nineties. Such a heavy claim will be in addition to the growing debt-servicing arising from Pakistan's foreign indebtedness which may rise to U.S.\$2 to 3 billion in the same period. Technology has been transferred to Pakistan mostly thorough licensing or joint ventures. The licensing agreements are normally process or product-oriented. The costs of licensing agreements have been as high as 3 percent followed by a royalty of an equivalent percentage on the price of goods produced. Licenses for

use of patent knowhow were obtained by about 42.8 percent of the technology importing companies/corporations. Unfortunately, licensing has remained almost entirely limited to a small number of individual enterprises with restrictive clauses on exports, purchase of spare parts and intermediate products.

Among the unsuccessful transfers, pharmaceutical industry is perhaps the worst case of transfer of technology in Pakistan. It represents almost complete horizontal transfer where there is continuous and complete dependence on imported raw material and recipe under protective umbrella of powerful multinational corporations bearing the stamp of their trademarks.

Invitation to expatriates: Recognising the fact that science and technology provide the most potent means of achieving progress and development, there is the urgent need for Pakistan to devote top priority to this sector. Although the new Science and Technology Policy has already been approved, its mere approval is not enough unless the whole planning and developmental thrust is geared to get it implemented. While implementing it, efforts have not only to be made to develop this new resource, there is also the need to see that its development does not in any significant manner adversely affect the indigenous technology. For meaningful technological progress, there is the need to make a break from the past passive posture and embark on a programme aimed at maximum utilisation of indigenous materials and manpower. Where foreign technology is required it should be imported and its assimilation and adaptation suitably structured to meet national needs. One way of giving a boost to S&T will be to get a part of the expatriate scientists and technologists back to the homeland.

S&T; The Forgotten Factor in the Seventh Plan: While dealing with science and technology, the Seventh Plan (1988/93) commented as follows:

Considerable progress has been made in the Sixth Plan (1983/88) in creating the infrastructure for science and technology. The Seventh Plan will emphasise the consolidation of existing research and development institutions to enable them to respond adequately to national development requirements. Science and technology and its practitioners will be accorded due status in society. The motivative environment, so necessary for S&T to flourish, will be created and the researcher provided all the tools required by him to function effectively.

Despite all these loud claims, the allocations made in the Plan are, however, too niggardly to produce any tangible result. The tragedy in fact, is that the allocations for the development of science and technology have been reduced from Rs 5.1 billion in the Sixth Plan (1983/88) to a mere trickle, i.e., Rs 1.86 billion in the Seventh Plan. The latter amount comes to only 0.28 percent of the total Plan allocations of Rs 660.0 billion. Quite surprisingly,

the Plan comes out with the view that the growth of science and technology has failed to take off the ground on account of the:

1. Reluctance of society to grant science and technology the status it deserves;
2. Insufficient facilities for researchers to maintain close links with international centres of research and to remain informed of progress in their respective fields.

After getting acquainted with these constraints, one feels obliged to ask, who is blaming whom?

Isn't the Government itself responsible for these constraints? This is true because the major activity in the field of science and technology is controlled by the Government itself. The Government is at present the only S&T funding agency, as the contribution of industry and the private sector is minimal. The current level of S&T expenditure is 0.56 percent of the federal development budget although an international organisation, Castasia 1 in 1986 recommended, at least 5-10 percent of the national development budget for this purpose.

Pakistan, like several other developing countries has not yet realised the fact that it pays to invest in S&T. The thesis of this paper is that the more backward a country is in the field of S&T, the more it must allocate funds in this sector. The tragedy in Pakistan, however, over the past 41 years has been that while its planner have invested huge sums in bricks and mortar, not much money has gone into the development of genuine science and technology.

S&T; A high pay off venture: Pakistani planners seem to be still unaware of the enormous gains that this country could obtain from an organised development of S&T. The recent discovery of coal deposits of about 280 million tonnes at Jherruk is a vivid example of what a developing country can produce/discover with a niggardly amount of investment. It is also a known fact that there are areas such as the discovery of oil where high initial investments are needed to strike a successful oil well but there are a host of other minerals whose discovery doesn't require beyond a few million rupees. Twenty years ago, Pakistan invested in research to trigger off the Green Revolution and the results show that this outlay in this sector proved to be immensely rewarding. The expenditure made by the Government in cotton research is another area where the payoff has been tremendous. In view of this, it seems incomprehensible that the niggardly allocations of Rs 1.9 billion earmarked in the Seventh Plan under the head S&T for the five-year period 1988/93 could be sufficient by any criteria. To the present author, it doesn't reflect anything else but the poverty of imagination and complete ignorance of the planners about a sector which, although does not always offer a profitable cost-benefit ratio in the short-run, but as the experience has shown in other countries, it invariably does come out with a grand payoff in the long run.

Revamping the whole S&T sector: What Pakistan desperately needs at present is to revamp its whole institutional wherewithal developed in the public sector. This is necessary because the cost incurred by this sector falls heavily on the exchequer. Side by side with the increase in salaries, there is also the urgent need to allocate substantial funds for the purchase of scientific equipment, travel and other purposes. Unless this is done, the precious resource of scientists, technologists and others will continue to be neglected, under utilised and faced with the consequences of even partly getting lost through the 'brain-drain.' The private sector will also have to realise the significance of developing S&T in such a manner and to such an extent that its needs are increasingly met from indigenous research establishments. Even in the field of impartation of training to the staff, specialised institutions will also have to be established to cater for this particular requirement. The government, on its part, could do well by offering special incentives and financial assistance to the private sector to take active interest in the development of S&T.

Pakistan is not short of funds. What it however badly lacks, is the ability to undertake scientific management of the private and public sectors, and in addition, a massive thrust towards the development of S&T. To achieve this, not only will the S&T sector require to be fully supported by the government, the private sector will also have to take active interest in this field compatible with the dictates and compulsions of the Zeitgeist. The approach has to be entrepreneurial and the cost-benefit criteria judged in a longer perspective.

Civil Liberties and Jail Reforms

46000073d Peshawar *THE FRONTIER POST*
in English 13 Jan 89 p 4

[Text] Some very disturbing reports have appeared in the press about the prolonged detention of persons accused of crimes for long period, without trail or even without any appearance before a magistrate. Reports speak of people being detained as enemy agents simply because they had incurred the displeasure of the Political Agents in the tribal areas. During the last several years, Political Agents have had an easy way of getting rid of people they do not like by dubbing them as KHAD agents and putting them in jails without trail for indefinite periods.

Mr Burney, a civil liberties activist, has done very commendable work in discovering many cases of gross injustice done to innocent and helpless victims of our defective legal system.

Many political prisoners have recently been released from jails and all of them must know from personal experience what goes on in our jails. Our Prime Minister, herself has been in various jails and knows about the malpractices of the jail authorities and of the many things that call for immediate reform. Our jail system must be reformed after a thorough enquiry by a committee mostly comprising non-officials and civil liberties

activists. The most urgently needed reforms are, firstly, better and milder treatment of under-trial prisoners. In theory, a person is innocent until proved guilty and therefore, till a person is convicted, his detention, when absolutely necessary, should not be in any way punitive. Under-trial prisoners should be kept in separate wards and given greater facilities to meet their lawyers and relatives and given all opportunities to prove their innocence. Furthermore, the trial of accused prisoners should be speedy. Cases of people staying years and years in jail without trial, indicate that the rights of people have little value in Pakistan. If the police cannot complete their case for the prosecution of a person they have arrested, within a short and well defined period, they have no business to arrest him. Arrest should follow investigation and not precede it. Arrest should take place only when the police have sufficient evidence against the accused. All too often, a person is arrested on the complaint of a person who has a grudge against someone and who has the influence or the money to get this adversary arrested on some trumped-up charge and the accused stays many years in jail without trial and even if he is released, he has received much punishment for no reason. This kind of treatment must be stopped even if the law has to be changed. When it is found that a person entirely innocent of any crime is arrested, kept in detention for a long period and then released, either without a trial or acquitted for lack of any evidence, then the law should require that the police officer who arrested him and the person who lodged a complaint against him should be prosecuted and given exemplary punishment.

If, within a month, the police are unable to present a summary of the evidence on the basis of which they have arrested a person, he should be enlarged on bail. Except for persons accused of serious crimes such as murder, acts of terrorism, dacoities and criminal fraud etc., bail should be accepted. Persons accused of serious, non-bailable offences should be brought to trial speedily. The rule should be clear, either a speedy trial or enlargement on bail without any difficulty.

We know that people with money can get away with murder and even if arrested, they can bribe their way out of detention, and can even buy an acquittal! It is always the poor who suffer grave injustices and languish in jails. Mr Burney, the leader of the Prisoners Relief and Release Committee, has brought to light some horrible cases of decades of unwarranted detention, of people sent to lunatic asylums, when in fact, they were as normal as any Pakistani can be. He has even found a case of a man who was in jail without the jail authorities having any paper or document pertaining to his detention and no proof whatever that the poor man was ever convicted and yet, he was in jails for two decades and would most likely have stayed there till death, if Mr Burney had not discovered his case.

In the tribal areas, a man should be tried in the traditional manner of his tribe by a Jirga, or if the Political Agent sends a man to jail, he should be tried by the law

of the land the same as anyone else. The Political Agents can no longer be allowed to be the dictatorial rulers of the tribal areas under the Federal jurisdiction.

Laws relating to preventive detention should also be reviewed and political detenus treated with respect, and given facilities which they enjoyed during the rule of the foreigners. Nowadays, they are treated worse than convicted criminals and subjected to torture, solitary confinement and kept in conditions that endanger their health. Some of the stories related by released political prisoners are really horrifying.

Under no circumstances should civilians be tried by martial law or military courts. Trial by the civil courts should be the rule that should never be broken by anyone. Many political prisoners recently released were sentenced by military courts and in several notorious cases, when acquitted by one military court, were again tried for the same offence by another military court so constituted as to get conviction for the prisoner. All these prisoners have served long periods of cruel and almost inhuman confinement in jails and yet, there are people demanding that they should not be treated as heroes, but tried again in civil courts for the same offence. What kind of barbarity are these people keen to establish in our country?

This is a matter that must be taken up without delay and the enquiry committee entrusted with the work should perform its work expeditiously because much investigative work has already been done.

Without a moment's delay, a non-official Jail Visitors Committee should be formed for each jail and for all places treated as jails, where accused are kept for interrogation such as the Lahore Fort and other such places. This should ensure that the worst kind of criminal receives human treatment, even if he is guilty of the crime of which he is accused.

Violent Strife Analyzed

46000069c Karachi DAWN in English
13 Jan 89 pp 1, V

[Article by S.K. Kausar: "The Anatomy of Violent Strife"]

[Text] The Government has placed a value on human life. It is Rs.50,000 for those who die in bomb blasts and communal strife, and Rs.25,000 for those maimed. (Is there a tacit message here that death is more beneficial for a family than impairment?) For fatal road accidents, compensation is a mere RS15,000 which the government proudly advertises. While the value of life for men and women is the same, children are excluded from this official 'benefit' of death.

In Karachi alone, from December 1986 to October 1987 hundreds of people have died in communal assaults and retaliation. A rough count takes the figure well over 200,

but for the sake of calculation even this figure is revealing. At the rate of Rs.50,000 the Government disbursed 100 lakh rupees in ten months! Let us add another 50 lakh for other compensatory acts and we get a staggering figure of Rs.150 lakh. The issue here is not whether the money is well-spent. The point is: the Government has money; and since it had money to 'dole' out, why can't it be used for improving the quality of life for the majority? To begin with, transport is a salient feature of the ethnic conflict in Karachi.

The spiral of events after a fatal accident has steadily expanded over the past 6/7 years. There was a time when a fatal accident resulted in the burning of the vehicle only. The police would arrive and 'control' the situation, but without the use of force. Then came the phase when a fatal road accident prompted the burning of the vehicle concerned and the pelting of stones at the vehicular traffic. The police would again make an appearance and restore 'law and order'; but not without the use of force. People would be lathi-charged and tear-gassed. With the passage of time, as people's 'protest' at road-accidents turned more violent (attacking and burning banks and shops), the police, too, became more violent. Besides the authorities' firing at the people, curfew would also be clamped—thereby punishing all for the faults of a few! (A practice deeply entrenched in the feudal mode of life, where entire families can be wiped out for displeasure caused by an individual, and where entire villages can be burnt in suspicion of a few 'outlaws').

[begin boxed item] Pakistan represents a society in transition. Its fragmentation into ethnic and sectarian groups is one such manifestation. The violence that engulfs society is also a manifestation of this fragmentation which pits one individual against another, and one group against another.[end boxed item]

As the spiral of violence swelled, a menacing factor emerged to divert the 'battle' between people and the police who represent State-Power. An ethnic division came forth as a natural consequence of the rapidly increasing transport services. Due to certain socio-economic factors, one ethnic group had become identified with this 'service'. Retaliation at fatal road accidents began to spill beyond the vehicle and the driver involved. A major turning point came in 1985 with the tragic accident of Bushra Zaidi.

Large-scale violence broke out in several parts of the city. The prey of the incensed 'public' was no longer the buses and their drivers only. All vehicles and drivers of a particular ethnic group (i.e., Pakhtoons/Pathan) were adjudged guilty. (A familiar feudal tendency again came into play—i.e., the guilt of one is to be borne by all of the same group; and the group here was defined by ethnicity.) At this juncture one must stop and recall an incident prior to the Bushra Zaidi Case. Korangi was the scene of ethnic strife resulting from an altercation between a conductor and some passengers.

Shortly after the verbal duel, the wagon returned with reinforcement. The Pakhtoon/Pathans who were bussed in, proceeded to ransack shops of the Urdu-speaking-/Hindustani community (now called 'Mohajir'). A riot followed; the police came; lathi-charged and tear-gassed the people, fired at them, and imposed a curfew. The nauseating wheel of violence and more violence had spun. Its momentum died down in a few days. (Years later, the same cycle began to take more than a few days to come to a halt). Phase IV represents a major transition in Karachi. Its dates can be established with the two major milestones of the Korangi-riot and the Bushra Zaidi case. Phase V of the development of violence in Karachi can be said to have begun with 1986. It has taken three major forms:

1. The Pakhtoon/Mohajir conflict, that is becoming increasingly violent;
2. The 'Mohajir'/Police conflict;
3. Entry of a third ethnic group—i.e., Punjabis. Coinciding with the Surjani Town incident came the forceful rally of Pakhtoon-Punjabi Ittehad at Benaras Chawk (April 1987). Thus, in the wake of violence unleashed over a flag the 'warring' parties were Pakhtoon-Punjabi and 'Mohajir'.

The Punjabi-Pakhtoon alliance is being interpreted as an outcome of the Mohajir-Police conflict. How far it is true is obviously debatable, but in terms of the relationship between state-power and people, conflicts within the people is a safeguard for the state-power. The more fragmented the people are the more secure is the State. It is secure as one set of people perpetuate violence on another—not because of any congenital defect, but as an expression of 'frustration'. The law enforcing agency as the front-line of state-power has to maintain a 'safe' distance from people. If by its action against the people (no matter how tempting), the wrath of the people is systematically directed towards it, the front-line defence of state-power stands in danger of being defeated.

The State has responded to the situation in a two-fold manner:

1. By increasingly violent subjugation of the symptoms (i.e., communal and sectarian battles),
2. By offering palliatives in the form of monetary compensation to those killed in fratricide and road accidents.

According to a rough estimate, ten people die every day in road-accidents. (See DAWN, September 11, 1987, Lahore's Column.) The Govt. scheme to pay Rs.15,000 per adult death, means Rs.one lakh 50 thousand to be dispersed daily. In a year, the total amount would be 547.50 lakh. Add to it the victims of bomb blasts and communal strife—roughly a thousand (at least) die in a year—and at the rate of Rs50,000 per death, we get an estimated Rs.500 lakh to be 'doled' out. Thus, in a year,

over Rs.1047 lakh (or 10.47 crores) is to be handed out by the Government. A salient feature of this method of 'appeasement' is the reduction of people to 'beggars'. The Government with its 'acts of benevolence', camouflage oppression that results directly from an inequitable distribution of national resources and an unfair participation of the people in its distribution.

Pakistan represents a society in transition. Its fragmentation into ethnic and sectarian groups is one manifestation of the transition. The violence that engulfs society is another, which pits one individual against another, and one group against another.

Just as painting zebra crossings on the roads and building pedestrian bridges will not solve the traffic-nightmare of Karachi, money will not heal the deep wounds of the families who qualified for some attention because their dear ones had died. Yet, people continue to be 'submerged' in the reality of oppression and violence, and 'adapt' themselves to the situation as best they can—even if it means sectarian and communal battles.

Pakistani society, in a short span of 40 years, has moved from hope and unity (if creation of Pakistan is seen as an expression of unity and a hope of 'liberation' of the *people* from the fetters of internal and external colonialism) to violence and fragmentation. Consciousness of the earlier decades has mostly dried up and just crackles through the 'national songs' and speeches of the rulers. The consciousness of tomorrow will rise from the transition of today provided the process begins right-away of anti-fragmentation...of people's unity that would by its very power nullify sectarian/ethnic divides. For this process, a critical mass is needed; and the prerequisite of this mass is critical, reflective consciousness. Is it fermenting amidst the chaos of the present transition? It must be...it has to...for it is a necessity born of today!

The extent to which critical consciousness is present in Pakistan is yet to be ascertained.

But what Pakistan is going through is not unique.

Cultural Inhibitions Said Contributing to Unemployment

46000069b Karachi DAWN in English 11 Jan 89 p 7

[Text] The new Federal Government has shown a high degree of sensitivity to the problem posed by widespread educated unemployment in the country. The Prime Minister has been mentioning the problem every now and then. It is not at all easy to create jobs for all or most educated persons who need them. There is, on account of the sluggishness of the economy during the past few years, an enormous backlog of unemployment to be absorbed. Quickening of the pace of economic activity and development of an appropriate strategy for promoting projects which are labour-intensive are among the first conditions for success in combating unemployment.

An equally vital issue is that of laying special emphasis on employment-oriented educational programmes and courses of study. The present bias of the educational system is to a very large extent unrelated to the needs of the economy and society. Recent discussions of the problem have also brought into focus an important aspect of the problem that is often overlooked. This has to do with our cultural attitude towards jobs and the dignity of labour. There is a limit beyond which the economy cannot create white-collar jobs. But the difficulty, as pointed out by the MQM leader, Mr Altaf Husain, a few days ago, is the set preference of the educated youth of middle class families for traditional white-collar jobs, and the general avoidance of manual work, even if it brings rich reward.

This fixation for generally low-income desk-bound jobs naturally limits the employment prospects of the common run of the educated youth, particularly in a situation of slow economic growth leading to scarcity of jobs. The result is that a wide variety of skilled and semi-skilled jobs are left out to be filled by illiterates or semi-literates. One reason, perhaps, for the low quality of work in jobs such as those of tailors, electricians, repairmen for home appliances, car mechanics, carpenters, plumbers and drivers is virtual absence of the educated people in these occupations. The main factor is the snobbish middle class attitude which attaches false respectability to some jobs and sneers at some others as 'undignified' without any rational judgment as to the real social worth of the two kinds in relative terms. This sort of false classification can be taken to absurd limits. It is no compliment to our sense of cultural values that eyebrows are raised over the idea of an educated woman taking up nursing as a profession even though like a doctor she too is basically involved in the same noble job of healing. Essentially, the difference between nurse and doctor is that of the level of professional skills and financial disparity. But ossified thinking denies dignity to the former, while the latter job is a highly coveted one.

Social attitudes and cultural values are slow to adjust and slower still to change. South Asia's Muslim society has evolved in isolation from the Islamic mainstream of the Middle East. One of the baleful effects of this to be seen in the absence of a correct notion of dignity of labour and in a general aversion for manual work. This is in sharp contrast to the traditions in the Islamic world where educated families retain surnames denoting professions—'bazzaz' (draper), 'najjar' (carpenter) or 'khayyat' (tailor), etc. In Pakistan's semi-feudal society options and preferences in matters of employment are so narrowly fixed and the aversion to manual jobs is so strong that boys and girls of middle class with some education would much rather stay jobless or make a bee-line for low-paid white collar jobs than enter professions which they have learnt to look down upon. Unfortunately, the social landscape goes to

strengthen the old attitudes, because an educated boy, despite the best of intentions, might find it difficult to adjust in a profession dominated by uneducated people belonging to working classes. And yet the traditional notions and preferences must change in response to the changing realities of life—and for two practical reasons, namely, to reduce dependence on limited government and other office jobs and to remove the self-created constraints for middle-class job-seekers. What Mr Altaf Husain said could become meaningful if educated boys and girls would

show a pioneering spirit and explore avenues of employment which have been traditionally avoided. A beginning could be made by emulating what is known as summer jobs in the West, where students earn money during holidays by doing whatever jobs come their way—from elevator operators to railroad hands, waiters and so forth. It would make a difference to the general attitude to jobs if our students decide to shed taboos and false notions of dignity by doing, at least during summer vacations, jobs that traditionally 'sahibs' have avoided so far.

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